

I320.9  
ILLI  
v.36:no.11  
2010:Nov.  
c. 3

November 2010 \$5.00

# Illinois Issues

A publication of the University of Illinois Springfield

## Who cares?

**Perhaps Illinoisans  
can't muster  
passion because  
they can't see  
how it would  
matter**

SPRINGFIELD IL 62701-1796  
300 S 2ND ST  
ILLINOIS DOCUMENT SE  
ILLINOIS STATE LIBRARY  
ILLI 76579 89944 XXXX 1  
B6 P2 \*\*\*\*\*5-DIGIT 62701





For updates between issues, count on the award-winning

# *Illinois Issues* Online

<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>



- Improved readability
- Easier site navigation
- Audio and video clips
- Links to in-depth background
- Color slideshows
- Comment board
- Educators section

## Blog

<http://illinoisissuesblog.blogspot.com>

- Major Breaking News Between Issues
- Behind-the-Scenes Analysis
- Reader Comment as the News Happens
- Follow *Illinois Issues* on Twitter!



☒ **YES!** I want to subscribe to *Illinois Issues*

Save the hassle of renewing annually AND save money with a multi-year subscription!!

Please check one:

☐ Three years – 30 issues - \$105    **OR**    ☐ One year – 10 issues - \$39.95

☐ Two years – 20 issues - \$72

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Business/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Daytime Phone \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Payment enclosed    ☐ Bill me later

☐ Payment enclosed with check payable to University of Illinois

To order by credit card call the *Illinois Issues* office at (217) 206-6084.

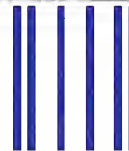
For faster service, call **1-800-508-0266**.

Visit *Illinois Issues* on the web at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

**Plus!**  
**FREE**  
with your  
subscription

***Roster of State Government Officials***  
*This popular directory lists the names, addresses and phone numbers of elected and appointed officials in all three branches of government.*  
To order more copies of the Roster see <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu/roster/roster.html>





NO POSTAGE  
NECESSARY  
IF MAILED  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES



**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 1901 SPRINGFIELD, IL

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

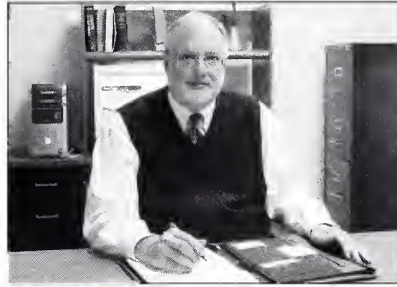
*Illinois Issues*

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT SPRINGFIELD  
PO Box 19243  
Springfield, IL 62794-9980





Dana Heupel



## An attitude of 'me first' extends to nearly every sector of America

by Dana Heupel

In a recent *MSN Money* article about what corporate executives saw as President Barack Obama's assault on businesses, T.J. Rodgers, the CEO of Cypress Semiconductor, was quoted as saying: "Obama uses political rhetoric to demean me and my motives, but the fact is, I am completely happy with my motives and the morality of my decisions. My moral responsibility is to protect and grow the investment of shareholders."

Regardless of what anyone might think about Obama's relationship with the corporate world, Rodgers' attitude extends these days to nearly every sector of America. Many company executives believe their moral responsibilities begin and end with their balance sheets. Many government leaders act only on their obligations to their political parties and campaign contributors. And many individuals believe they are only beholden to their own opportunities to generate and retain as much income as possible. Lost in the equation are citizenship, charity toward those less fortunate and a responsibility to make

---

*Lost in the equation are citizenship, charity toward those less fortunate and a responsibility to make the world a better place for the next generation.*

the world a better place for the next generation.

Or, any desire to come together to try to solve the massive problems this country — and this state — face. It's dog-eat-dog. The antihero's anthem of me against the world. I'll get mine, even if I have to walk over you to do it. The old political singsong rhyme, "Don't tax you, don't tax me, tax the man behind the tree."

The results are evident:

A state deficit that is \$13 billion and growing. Unemployment that hovers around 10 percent. A growing divide between the haves and have-nots. Dwindling individual savings accounts. A lack of opportunity for

young people and shattered retirement hopes and plans for those at the other end of the employment spectrum.

Politicians on both sides who promise things they know they can't produce. Elected officials who are unwilling to reach any sort of compromise and govern. Constituents who are too uninvolved to look beyond the phony rhetoric or unwilling to make the necessary sacrifices to begin the process of healing the wounds.

Out of this grows disillusionment. Ordinary people don't understand what got us into this mess — indeed, even the best economic minds couldn't see the crisis coming. Credit default swaps on mortgage-backed securities? Banks too big to fail? A restricted financial playground that most of us didn't have access to, let alone knowledge of the arcane rules that govern conduct within its confines?

Toss in two unwinnable wars and the nation's biggest environmental disaster — caused, by the way, by a profit motive that steamrolled safety responsibilities — and is it any wonder our heads are spinning? Is it any sur-

## ADVISORY BOARD

### CHAIR

**Lawrence N. Hansen**, vice president, Joyce Foundation, Chicago.

### VICE CHAIR

**Mike Lawrence**, retired director, Paul Simon Public Policy Institute, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

### MEMBERS

**MarySue Barrett**, president, Metropolitan Planning Council, Chicago.

**Robert J. Christie**, vice president, government relations, Northwestern Memorial Hospital, Chicago.

**Darcy Davidsmeyer**, director, state government relations, Motorola Inc., Schaumburg.

**Kathleen Dunn**, vice president, government relations, Illinois Hospital Association, Springfield.

**Jim Edgar**, senior fellow, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

**Robert Gallo**, senior state director, AARP Illinois.

**Sharon Gist Gilliam**, chairperson, Chicago Housing Authority.

**Graham Grady**, partner, K&L Gates, Chicago.

**Cornelia Grumman**, executive director, First Five Years Fund, Chicago.

**Doris B. Holleb**, professorial lecturer, University of Chicago.

**Bethany Jaeger**, management consultant, Kerber, Eck and Braeckel, Springfield.

**Joan W. Levy**, education consultant, Northbrook.

**Jeff Mays**, president, Illinois Business Roundtable, Chicago.

**Brad McMillan**, executive director, Institute for Principled Leadership in Public Service, Bradley University, Peoria.

**Abner J. Mikva**, former federal judge, Chicago.

**Lawrence J. Msall**, president, The Civic Federation, Chicago.

**Diana Nelson**, project consultant, Chicago.

**Dawn Clark Netsch**, professor of law emeritus, Northwestern University School of Law, Chicago.

**Annie Pennick**, executive director, Field Foundation of Illinois, Chicago.

**Taylor Pensoneau**, author and former president of the Illinois Coal Association, Springfield.

**Sylvia Puente**, executive director, Latino Policy Forum, Chicago.

**Philip J. Rock**, attorney, Rock, Fusco & Associates, LLC, Chicago.

**John R. Rosales**, manager of community affairs and business development, Coca-Cola, Niles.

**Tom Ryder**, attorney, W. Thomas Ryder, LTD, Springfield.

**Charles W. Scholz**, attorney, Quincy.

**Alysia Tate**, chief operating officer, Community Renewal Society, Chicago.

**Paula Wolff**, senior executive, Chicago Metropolis 2020.

**Corinne Wood**, attorney, Lake Forest.

### EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

**Michael Hogan**, president, University of Illinois.

**Harry Berman**, interim chancellor, University of Illinois Springfield.

**David Racine**, interim executive director, Center for State Policy and Leadership, University of Illinois Springfield.

**Robert F. Rich**, director and professor, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

### FOUNDING MEMBER

**Samuel K. Gove**, professor emeritus of political science, University of Illinois.

### MEMBERS EMERITUS

(years served on board in parentheses)

Michael J. Bakalis (1983-2001), James M. Banovetz (1986-2005), James L. Fletcher (1983-2000), David Kenney (1978-90), Louis H. Masotti (1978-92), James T. Otis (1975-94), David J. Paulus (1988-94), Carl Shier (1978-87).

**Barack Obama wanted change, as well, but it didn't happen — or at least not quickly enough. His biggest problem may well be that it's difficult to prove a negative, to show how bad things really might have been if he hadn't stepped in.**

prise that a grassroots roar is welling up throughout the country? The surprise is that there aren't several more movements springing from the chaos.

The emergence of the Tea Party is only a natural evolution. They're fed up with what's happening. They just want change, even if many of them seemingly don't realize that the changes some of their leaders are proposing could end up taking away what little economic security they have left.

Barack Obama wanted change, as well, but it didn't happen — or at least not quickly enough. His biggest problem may well be that it's difficult to prove a negative, to show how bad things really might have been if he hadn't stepped in. And now, we want change again. Or at least to short-change some of the changes Obama did make.

That change may well reveal itself in this month's elections. We might toss out the old and usher in the new. But who's to say newer is always better, especially with little clear definition of what the new paradigm might entail. After the election smoke settles and the mirrors unfog, will we again be ready to move forward, or will there just be a new cast of players on the same old stage?

Will the electorate actually make the right choices, or will voters simply grasp at political straws hoping they pick the right ones? There don't appear to be any easy solutions at this point; and maybe not even any difficult ones. Nobody's really certain what it will take to get us out of this

complicated mess, even those politicians who say they are.

Recovery isn't likely to happen soon; it will probably require a long, exhausting climb where the steps ahead aren't well-marked. But a willingness to accept responsibility may well be the first rung on the ladder:

Responsibility among politicians to propose real solutions instead of mouthing empty rhetoric that they know has no chance of happening, let alone succeeding if it did.

Responsibility among elected officials to work together, at least on the big problems, instead of clinging to partisan bickering and governing by obstructionism. And responsibility to their constituents — from both parties — instead of working only for their political parties and campaign contributors.

Responsibility among citizens and voters to accept that some sacrifices will be necessary and that solutions won't come easily. Responsibility to become engaged enough to take the time to try to understand the choices that lay ahead, and then to work to make the best choices we can.

Responsibility among the corporate world to recognize that companies do, indeed, have a stake in the well-being of their employees, their communities and their nation, as well as their shareholders.

Responsibility among all of us to make sure that in climbing that hill, we don't succumb again to greed and irresponsible actions. That we live within our means and plan for our futures. That in our rush to regain prosperity, we don't trample those who have slipped and fallen in our path. That we consider what's best for our communities and our nation, instead of only what's best for us.

And, finally, we all must own up to the fact that we are ultimately responsible for getting ourselves into this predicament, and the only way out is for all of us to accept the responsibility — individually and, most of all, collectively — for doing what's necessary to turn it around. □

Dana Heupel can be reached at [heupel.dana@uis.edu](mailto:heupel.dana@uis.edu).

# Illinois Issues

ILLINOIS STATE LIBRARY

OCT 26 2010

ILLINOIS DOCUMENTS

A publication of the University of Illinois Springfield

November 2010

Volume XXXVI, No. 11



Partnerships, page 18



Who cares? page 16



Interest comes due, page 24

## FEATURES

### 16 Who cares?

*Perhaps Illinoisans can't muster passion because they can't see how it would matter.*

by Burt Constable

### 18 Partnerships

*Illinois in many ways leads the pack on public-private partnerships, but experts say officials must make them beneficial to the public.*

by Jamey Dunn

### 21 Federal intervention

*Is the stimulus program invigorating Illinois' economy?*

by Dan Vock

### 24 Interest comes due

*Illinois' nightmarish budget situation could get even scarier in the not-too-distant future.*

by Kurt Erickson

### 28 Essay

#### Managing to get by

*State workers often bear the brunt of the public's dissatisfaction with government.*

by James Krohe Jr.

## DEPARTMENTS

### 3 EDITOR'S NOTE

*An attitude of uncaring is pervasive.*

by Dana Heupel

### 6 STATE OF THE STATE

*Lame ducks may act.*

by Jamey Dunn

### 8 BRIEFLY

### 33 PEOPLE

### 36 LETTERS

### 37 ENDS AND MEANS

*What about the deficit?*

by Charles N. Wheeler III

## STAFF

*Director/Executive Editor, Center Publications*

Dana Heupel

## EDITORIAL

*Statehouse Bureau Chief:* Jamey Dunn

*Managing Editor:* Maureen Foertsch McKinney

*Associate Editor:* Beverley Scobell

*Columnist:* Charles N. Wheeler III

*Research Assistant:* Kendall Cramer

*Editorial Assistant:* Debi Edmund

## BUSINESS

*Business Manager:* Toni L. Langdon

*Marketing & Circulation Director:* Linda Anderson

*Student Assistant:* Jessica Odigie

*Illinois Issues is published by Center Publications  
Center for State Policy and Leadership*

<http://cspluis.edu>

*Credits: The issue was designed by Patty Sullivan, who created the image on the cover.*

**Editorial and business office:** HRB 10, University of Illinois Springfield, One University Plaza, Springfield, IL 62703-5407.

Telephone: 217-206-6084. Fax: 217-206-7257. E-mail: [illinoisissues@uis.edu](mailto:illinoisissues@uis.edu). E-mail editor: [heupel.dana@uis.edu](mailto:heupel.dana@uis.edu).

**Subscription questions:** Illinois Issues, Subscription Division, P.O. Box 2795, Springfield, IL 62708-2795 or call 1-800-508-0266.

Hours are 8:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. Central Time, Monday-Friday (except holidays). **Subscriptions:** \$39.95 one year/ \$72 two years/ \$105 three years; student rate is \$20 a year. Individual copy is \$5. Back issue is \$5. *Illinois Issues* is indexed in the PAIS Bulletin and is available electronically on our home page: <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>. *Illinois Issues* (ISSN 0738-9663) is published monthly, except July and August are combined. December is published online only. Periodical postage paid at Springfield, IL, and additional mailing offices.

**Postmaster:** Send address changes to *Illinois Issues*, Subscription Division, P.O. Box 19243, Springfield, IL 62794-9243.

©2010 by Illinois Issues, University of Illinois Springfield, One University Plaza, Springfield, IL 62703-5407. All rights reserved.

Reproduction in whole or in part without prior written permission is prohibited. *Illinois Issues* is published by the University of Illinois Springfield. In addition to university support and subscription income, the magazine is supported by grants and donations. The contents of the magazine do not necessarily reflect the views of the university or the donors.



Jamey Dunn



## Lame ducks may be less cautious with votes

by Jamey Dunn

Soon after the general election, lawmakers will return to Springfield to vote on bills vetoed by Gov. Pat Quinn and perhaps to take up unresolved issues from the spring legislative session.

While legislators were cautious with their votes during the regular session — for fear of creating wedge issues or giving their opponents fodder for mailers in the upcoming campaign — the lame duck veto session may be another story.

The prospect of the governor's office and legislative seats possibly changing hands in January has some Democratic lawmakers weighing the odds of passing controversial bills while the numbers are still in their favor.

Rep. Lou Lang, a Democrat from Skokie, says that more than 90 House members have privately voiced support for **Senate Bill 1381**, which would create a pilot program to allow people with serious illnesses access to marijuana for medicinal use. However, he says he still lacks the 60 votes he needs to pass the measure in the House. The measure passed in the Senate with the 30 votes needed last year, and Lang says he hopes more House members will be able to vote their conscience after the election is over.

The Illinois State Police dropped their opposition to **SB 1381**, and Lang says that makes it easier for lawmakers to back his bill. But, he adds, it is the personal stories of people struggling

---

*The biggest elephant in the room during the veto session will be the prospect of an income tax increase.*

with chronic illnesses that do the most to persuade his colleagues on the issue.

Lang says if Republican state Sen. Bill Brady, who opposes medical marijuana, is elected governor, it might “force his hand” on calling the bill. However, he says he does not want to ask legislators to go on record with a vote unless the measure has a solid chance of winning.

Rep. Greg Harris, a Chicago Democrat, says the same thing about **Senate Bill 1716**, which would allow civil unions for same-sex couples. “I am not doing this to showboat. ... I am not doing this for any other reason than to win.”

Harris says if legislators record a “no” vote on his bill, it will be very difficult to persuade them to backtrack. But he acknowledges that waiting to call the bill for a vote could mean waiting through at least four years under a governor who would veto it. Soon after winning the Republican nomination for governor, Brady proposed amending the Illinois Constitution to ban same-sex unions.

Quinn, who supports Harris' bill, told the *Daily Herald* that he thinks it could become law by the end of the year.

“This is an issue where, I think if nothing else, time is on my side,” Harris says. “As each month passes, the idea of relationship recognition continues to build public support. ... If you look at the polling around the state of Illinois — I don't care where it is — it's a trend that is moving in the right direction.”

According to a poll by the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute, 65 percent of Illinoisans are in favor of allowing civil unions or same-sex marriages. However, the same poll said only 45 percent of voters in southern Illinois support same-sex unions.

He adds that ideally, same-sex couples should not have to wait for equal protection under the law. “If it were in my power, we would already have it, but I need to have 60 votes in the House and 30 in the Senate.”

Harris is not the only one feeling the winds of public opinion at his back.

Jeremy Schroeder, executive director of the Illinois Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, told the Springfield *State Journal-Register* that opponents of the death penalty intend to push to repeal it during the veto session. Schroeder said a survey conducted by his organization found that 60 percent of registered voters preferred other penalties for murder.



Illinois has had a moratorium on the death penalty for 10 years. Both Gov. Pat Quinn and Brady support the use of the death penalty. Quinn has said, however, that he would keep the moratorium in place, while Brady has said he would repeal it.

Schroeder said he is trying to persuade lawmakers on both sides of the aisle. "In these times when we're cutting police on the streets and we have a broken system that, frankly, we don't use, it's time to make the commonsense choice for repealing the death penalty," Schroeder told the *State Journal-Register*.

Local governments hope to resolve one issue in the works last session that could help their bottom lines. After pushing for money-saving changes to state pension systems, legislators were working to reform the pension system for police officers and firefighters.

Sen. Terry Link says negotiations fell apart in the spring session after local governments walked away from the table. While he says he hopes to pass a bill during the veto session, he adds, "The legislature may not be as willing to be as kind."

The General Assembly also will take up Quinn's vetoes. Several of the amendatory vetoes correct minor problems with bills or change the effective dates, but a few could prove to be controversial. Quinn changed **HB 5154**, which sealed state employee evaluations. The governor's rewrite would make all employee evaluations open to the public except for those working in law enforcement.

Advocates for transparency say Illinois' new Freedom of Information Act provision, passed last year need to be given time to work. "This is poor public policy on so many levels. The new FOIA law needs to be given time to work before being assaulted with attempts to make changes and exemptions. We urged the governor to veto the entire bill and still believe that was the best action to take," Dennis DeRossett, executive director of the Illinois Press Association, said in a written statement.

Union officials, on the other hand, say that managers need protection from prying eyes to be able to evaluate their employees honestly. "We had urged the governor to sign the bill. It was com-

monsense legislation to preserve the confidentiality of private records containing personal info ... not just for reasons of personal privacy but in order to ensure that managers at all levels of government know that their evaluations will serve their intended purpose," says Anders Lindall, spokesman for Council 31 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, state government's largest union.

Quinn tacked on entirely new provisions to two bills relating to elections without changing the original content of the bills. **House Bill 4842**, which called for the State Board of Elections to post information on its website about primary election candidates, now also contains language calling for Illinois to have an open primary system, which would not require voters to declare a party to participate in a primary. Voters would still only be allowed to vote for one party's ticket, but they would make that choice privately in the voting booth.

Good government organizations nationwide — and Quinn's own Illinois Reform Commission — back this practice.

The other veto adds a provision that would allow voters to submit their ideas on ethics to the General Assembly. Quinn tacked that onto a bill that originally allowed election officials to clear the names of dead residents off voting rolls electronically.

Under the new version of **HB 5206**, proposals that receive 100,000 petition signatures would be drafted into a bill and voted on by the General Assembly. If the legislation failed to become law, it would go onto the ballot as an advisory referendum, which does not have any binding legal power.

That change, however, seemingly appropriates legislative power into the hands of citizens in a way that is not allowed under the Illinois Constitution.

Kent Redfield, an emeritus professor at the University of Illinois Springfield and director of the Sunshine Project, a nonprofit campaign contribution database connected to the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform, says the framers of the state Constitution directly rejected the idea. "The [1970 Constitutional Convention] delegates considered initiative. They knew about the California model ... and they consciously rejected it. They

crafted a limited citizens' initiative process. ... This [amendatory veto] attempts to essentially amend the Constitution by statute, and you can't do that."

Neither of those changes is likely to make it to questions of constitutionality because there is a strong chance the legislature will override them. While the changes do fall in line with reforms Quinn has backed throughout his political career, they amount to little more than a feel-good campaign move.

Since lawmakers passed a budget that Quinn then trimmed with his line item and reduction veto powers, legislators also will have to approve his changes when they return to Springfield. Lang says there will likely be some votes on supplemental appropriations to funnel more funds in one direction or another.

The biggest elephant in the room during veto session will be the prospect of an income tax increase. Lang says legislators are more likely to take up the issue — if they do at all — in January before the new General Assembly is inaugurated. Then it would only require a simple majority vote to go into effect immediately. But interest groups will start heavily lobbying lawmakers for and against an increase right after the election, and the results of the governor's race will have a big effect on whether a tax increase is on the table.

A Quinn victory could energize Democrats to pass an increase, especially after getting past a difficult election. Quinn, however, has vowed to veto any tax plan, including one that passed in the Senate last year, other than the 1 percentage-point "surcharge for education" he pitched during his budget address this year. If the General Assembly manages to approve another version of a tax increase, Quinn will be hard-pressed to default on that campaign promise.

If Illinois voters choose Brady as their next governor, Democrats in the legislature will be unlikely to vote on new revenue that would help Brady tackle the catastrophic budget deficit after he ran on an anti-tax platform.

However the election pans out, Lang says Statehouse watchers should expect surprises and be ready for what could prove to be a compelling veto session. □

# BRIEFLY

## GET OUT THE VOTE

### 'Islamaphobia' sparks activism in the Muslim community

**A**n Illinois immigrant rights group and Chicago Islamic organizations conducted voter registration efforts this fall to combat what they described as "rising Islamaphobia."

"There is a rising sentiment that the entire Muslim community is responsible for the actions of a small number of extremists around the world, which is extremely bigoted," says Maryam Al-Zoubi, a fellow with the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, whose job is to organize and educate Muslims in southwestern Chicago and suburbs in that region. "You won't see that kind of racism against any other community."

Among examples of Islamaphobia at the local level that organizers cite are instances of Quran burning that included an incident outside a Chicago Muslim center, DuPage County's consideration of a zoning ban on locating new meeting places in unincorporated areas and Gov. Pat Quinn's comments showing sympathy with those who opposed plans to locate a mosque near the site of Ground Zero in New York.

"Our goal is that politicians are aware of the power and impact of the Muslim community in Illinois," says Al-Zoubi.

The organizations hoped to register 2,000 new Muslim voters, according to Kiran Ansari, communications director for the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, who says an estimated 450,000 Muslims live in the Chicago metropolitan area. By mid-September, Ansari says, more than 1,200 pledge cards were filled out by already-registered voters who promised to vote in the November 2 election.

Al-Zoubi says: "We canvas different areas. We're going to religious centers to educate, and almost every Islamic center we approached encouraged our community to go out to vote. We door knock; we phone bank. We go to schools, mosques,



*Sheikh Kifah Mustapha, associate imam of the Mosque Foundation, discusses the significance of Eid, the end of the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, and the lunar coincidence of Eid hitting the anniversary of the 9/11 tragedy. He is flanked by clergy from different faiths.*

grocery stores, even, to get everyone to register to vote.

"We want to vocalize to our elected officials that their silence against a rising Islamophobic sentiment — and sometimes their support of the rising Islamophobic sentiment — will not be tolerated by the Muslim communities in Illinois," she says. "We are a large population here; we can't be ignored, and we will hit the ballots hard if that's what is necessary to get them to hear us, to realize our power and impact in the community."

In April, the Chicago office of the Council on American Islamic Relations filed a complaint in federal court against DuPage County, in response to the county's rejection of a zoning permit for a proposed Islamic school, Irshad Learning Center near Naperville, says Kevin Vodak, attorney for the council.

The decision to reject the permit was arbitrary and in violation of several laws, including the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act of 2000 and the First Amendment, he says.

But DuPage County State's Attorney Joe Birkett says of the zoning board decision: "It has nothing to do with the Muslim religion. It has everything to do with a zoning issue. We believe there's legitimate

basis for the court [to] dismiss the complaint."

Ashley Wooten, director of the ICIRR's New Americans Democracy Project, says: "Muslims are hugely motivated to get out and vote and to show politicians that bigotry against Muslims is not something that is going to win them points or that they can get away with. I think recently, they are really upset by the remarks Gov. Quinn made recently about the mosque in New York."

Mica Matsoff, the spokeswoman for Quinn's campaign, says: "In no way were the governor's comments negating the contributions of Muslims. Rather, he spoke out on how our society should be tolerant of the diversity our state boasts. Gov. Quinn's comments reflected his personal feelings that the World Trade Center site is a space for reverence. He feels that any structure built near the site should be considered with sensitivity."

"His comments regarding the community center had nothing to do with the religious aspect of the center and should not be construed as anti-Islam or anti-Muslim," Matsoff says. "He suggested that the parties involved should move with delicacy and consideration of the location."

*Maureen Foertsch McKinney*



## Taking gangs to court

One city is taking an uncommon approach to combating gangs: Sue them.

When Elgin police served members of the Latin Kings with notices to appear in civil court, many of them were surprised they were not being arrested, says Kane County State's Attorney John Barsanti.

Elgin decided to partner with Kane County and sue gang members under the 1993 Illinois Streetgang Terrorism Omnibus Prevention Act. The lawsuit seeks an injunction that if granted, would bar gang members from associating with each other, as well as participating in some gang-related activities, such as wearing identification colors.

Barsanti says the lawsuit required a high level of participation from Elgin police officers because they had to collect evidence that each of the more than 70 defendants named in the lawsuit is a gang member. As of press time, Elgin police had served about 50 defendants with court summonses. DuPage and Boone county officials have tried similar plans to target gang members.

Elgin police officers are thankful for the chance to have another tool to fight gang activity. "The Elgin Police department is very, very excited about this," Barsanti says.

If the injunction is approved, police could charge violators, such as a group of gang members hanging out together, with a misdemeanor. "It's unconstitutional to have a law that says you can't be a Latin King or you can't associate with a Latin King. ... [The injunction] gives you a constitutional or legal basis to control the association of gang members."

Barsanti adds that in the process of arresting gang members for violating the court order, police may catch them breaking other laws. "If some of these people should be holding drugs or holding guns that would be — of course — confiscated, and then they would be charged with that."

Barsanti says his office started out with more than 400 names of possible gangsters but soon realized — even with the help of Elgin law enforcement — they did not have the manpower to investigate them all. He says the court that handles such cases would also be overwhelmed and would have likely gone from hearing three to five cases a day up to nearly 80 a day. "It would bring that courtroom to a standstill," he says.

So, instead, they decided to target the 70 "top" members of one gang. Barsanti says he would like to target more gang members and more gangs in the future. "That would be the perfect world — that you get every gang member in Elgin on paper and in court."

Patrick Crimmins, a former gang prosecutor who is spearheading the case, says the threat of arrest could give young members an excuse not to associate with the gang. "If I am mom, or dad, or some kid looking to get out and looking to find some help to get out ... this is the perfect thing to do that."

He says the injunction would cut to the heart of what makes a gang a force for criminal activity. "If you can affect the strength of a street gang by [restricting] member association and congregation ... then you, in effect, have weakened the enterprise and strengthened the community."

*Jamey Dunn*

## Poverty in Illinois rises faster than in the nation as a whole

The Illinois poverty rate rose 24 percent from 1999 to 2009; poverty throughout the nation rose 15.3 percent during the same period, according to a Chicago-based research center.

"Illinois' poverty has grown about 24 percent over the decade, and during that same decade, our systems of care and assistance have been eroded by our budget crisis," says Amy Rynell, director of the Social IMPACT Research Center, a program of the Heartland Alliance, a Chicago-based advocacy organization.

"We know that our need is growing — the need for basic support, the need for job creation, the need for income support — but at the same time, we've obviously continued to lose jobs. Many of the jobs we have grown are obviously lower-paid, and that's resulted in Illinois families really struggling to make ends meet — the most basic of needs: food for their family, a roof over their heads and trying to prevent bankruptcy, to afford health insurance when they are unemployed. ... People are really being pulled in many

directions just to make sure that they're getting their basic needs met, and unfortunately, the state budget crisis has been such that a lot of our state support is weaker."

Rynell points to the state budget — Illinois faces an unprecedented \$13 billion deficit and a \$4.6 billion stack of overdue bills — and loss of jobs in the manufacturing sector as reasons for Illinois' growth in poverty outpacing that of the nation. "Our state has been cutting education, health care, child care and other family services that hurt families and reduce necessary services just at the time when parents are losing jobs and need help," she says. "The need for these services has not declined and has, in fact, risen as the number of families facing economic difficulties increases. Low-income families should not have to shoulder the burden for our state's budget gap. These cuts will make the recession's impacts worse because families and businesses have less to spend in their local economies."

From 2008 to 2009, Illinois' poverty rate grew from 12.2 percent to 13.3 percent, while the U.S. poverty rate increased from 13.2 percent to 14.3 percent, according to the research center, which crunched U.S. Census data numbers. That totals out to 1.7 million Illinoisans living below the poverty level, which is \$22,050 for a family of four, and encompasses 42.8 million people nationwide.

The number of Illinoisans considered to be in extreme poverty — with an income of \$11,025 or less for a family of four — has grown to 760,000 people, while in 1999, 619,000 people in Illinois were living at that income level.

The good news, Rynell says, is that the state Commission on the Elimination of Poverty, which was created in 2008, is expected in November to create a plan intended to cut poverty in half by 2015. "The plan will address specific issues that have a direct role in poverty, including housing, health care, nutrition, employment, education, transportation, child care and income supports."

*Maureen Foertsch McKinney*

## Group's report gives state schools a D

A bipartisan education policy group co-chaired by former Gov. Jim Edgar and former U.S. Commerce Secretary William M. Daley recently released a report that contends that Illinois lags behind other states in academic achievement in kindergarten through 12th grade.

Advance Illinois, which was formed in 2008, issued its State Report Card in September, which says Illinois' efforts to educate its elementary and high school students merit a grade of D.

"When Illinoisans consider the performance of our public schools, we instinctively turn to test scores from the K-12 system. The news here is not good," states the group's report. "In academic achievement, Illinois lags behind other states and has stagnated for years, with some of the worst achievement gaps in the country. Performance is also poor on wider measures of success. From school environments to students' college readiness, Illinois has much work to do."

The report considered Illinois' scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress [NAEP] tests as a measure. For instance, 33 percent of the state's public school eighth-graders were considered to be proficient in reading on the NAEP, which gave the state a national ranking of 25th in that category.

The report also considered such factors as school environment and access to education. For instance, on the question of what percentage of Illinois students have access to advanced coursework, the answer was 26 percent, which gave the state a ranking of 26th. In terms of the number of instructional hours offered, Illinois ranked 41st.

"Our goal with the report is to really shine a spotlight on education in Illinois. ... Also, to go beyond test scores and talk about things like learning readiness and learning conditions and to provide a way to have a baseline ... for the reforms that were outlined, for example, in Race for the Top, to understand if those are having an impact moving forward," says Benjamin Boer, policy director at Advance Illinois.

"We're also really interested in getting measures of learning conditions to understand what are the factors in our schools that are making them succeed or not," Boer says.

The report was more positive in the area of early childhood education. But the group assigned an incomplete instead of a letter grade because the state doesn't collect some information.

"As the data in this Report Card reveals, Illinois has much to be proud of in early childhood education. Enrollment

has been expanded, especially for 3-year-olds, and the state is now a national leader in the field," the report states. "It is an example of what can be accomplished when we set clear goals and focus our energy; and but for a critical information gap, the state would have earned a B+ for its efforts."

In the area of post-secondary education, the report card assigned a grade of C. The report noted that "only 37 percent of Illinois adults over 25 have an associate's degree or higher."

Matt Vanover, spokesman for the State Board of Education, says in an e-mail, "It's important to note that Illinois is already on its way to put into place many of the recommendations outlined in this report." For instance, the board adopted nationally recommended common core standards in English and math, and the state is part of a consortium to develop a new student assessment program by the 2014-15 school year.

"We have revamped rules regarding principal and teacher preparation and required the development of new teacher and principal evaluations that will be tied to student growth," Vanover writes. "Those improved evaluations will be implemented between 2012 and 2016."

*Maureen Foertsch McKinney*

## Grandparents raising grandchildren



More grandparents are pushing aside their retirement plans to care for their grandchildren.

A recent Pew Research Center study finds that one in 10 children in the United States, about 7 million, lives with a grandparent. Census data show that 41 percent of those grandchildren, or 2.9 million, are primarily cared for by that grandparent.

The number of children living with and being cared for by grandparents has

steadily risen over the last decade, but from 2007 to 2008 [the beginning of the recession, according to the Pew Research Center], there was a 6 percent increase.

Illinois does not track the number of grandchildren raised by grandparents, says Kimberly Parker, spokeswoman for the Illinois Department on Aging. However, in a news release issued in September on National Grandparents Day, the agency cited the number as an estimated 100,000. Parker says she could not link that number to a specific date.

"Our data does not explicitly allow us to make the connection between the recession and these changes in care giving," says Gretchen Livingston, coauthor of the study and senior researcher at the Pew Research Center. However, Livingston acknowledges that researchers noticed the sharp increase during 2007 and 2008.

It is important to consider the long-term findings of the study, as the economy may not have been the only influence. "We suspect that other demographic factors are playing a role," she says.

Livingston says, "We suspect that the aging of the baby boomers is probably playing an important role there because that's such a large cohort of people who are now [at a] relatively young grandparent age."

Since 1996, the department has provided a variety of resources to Illinois grandparents through the Grandparents Raising Grandchildren program. Information about the program can be found online at [www.state.il.us/aging](http://www.state.il.us/aging) or by calling (800) 252-8966.

Grandparents older than 30 were included in the Pew study.

*Kendall Cramer*



## Program cut keeps teachers indoors

*Photograph courtesy of the Illinois Department of Natural Resources*

A program that seeks to give teachers hands-on conservation experience faces the loss of all its state funding this fiscal year.

The Environment and Nature Training Institute for Conservation Education (ENTICE), created in 2000 by the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, offers more than 20 one-day workshops that pre-K to 12th-grade teachers can use to fulfill professional development requirements.

Gov. Pat Quinn announced that he was cutting all general revenue funding to ENTICE when he rolled out his budget at the beginning of the fiscal year. "Due to an unprecedented fiscal crisis, tough decisions have been made in an effort to meet our budget challenges," Kelly Kraft, a spokesperson from the governor's budget office, said in a written statement.

Valerie Keener, administrator of the division of education at Natural Resources, says ENTICE offers teachers a chance to learn through real-life experience about subjects they typically did not study as part of their college education.

"In a lot of cases, the teachers who come to our workshops have not had any training in natural resources at all. And if they have, it has generally been about what happens in other parts of the world, as opposed to what's going on in Illinois," Keener says.

She adds it is important for teachers to spend time outdoors under the supervision of conservation experts and get to know the animals, plants and ecosystems they plan to teach about.

"If we were talking about prairies, we try to hold [the workshop] ... some place that actually has a prairie. ... Getting hands on makes people more enthused. It gives them some confidence. ... They



*Teachers participate in an ENTICE program, sponsored by the Illinois Department of Natural Resources*

have some experience. They have some knowledge. They feel better teaching it."

Keener says the money Quinn cut represents the majority of the program's budget. ENTICE also gets money from workshop fees, other funds and grants and is operating month to month. Keener says it plans to offer workshops through the rest of the fiscal year, but the number has been cut from 22 to 17.

The Illinois Policy Institute, a think tank dedicated to "free-market principles," targeted ENTICE in a study it conducted looking for places to trim the budget. Amanda Griffin-Johnson, a public policy analyst for the institute, says the group focused in on the program because of dwindling attendance numbers. Keener says attendance did drop in 2005 but has increased in recent years. She says atten-

dance fluctuates based on teachers' training requirement schedules.

Griffin-Johnson says if enrollment fluctuates, funding should change with it, and the program should rely more heavily on fees. "If it is a big value to the teachers, increasing the fee might be a good way to keep it around."

She says during the current budget crisis, the state must start making choices about which programs are necessary, such as the social services that residents rely on for their health and well being. "Most programs that exist have some good that they do or try to do, and those things need to be encouraged. ... In good years, maybe we can afford them, but in tight years we have to think about focusing on what our priorities are."

*Jamey Dunn*

## Snowy winter

November and December should be warmer than average, while late winter should be snowy, according to State Climatologist Jim Angel.

Angel based his November and December predictions on the long-range forecast from the National Weather Service.

"Right now, we have La Niña effect going on. That just means there's really cold water sitting across the equator and the Pacific. [In La Niña years,] we tend to

have a warm dry fall," Angel says. "There also have been La Niña studies that show there's more snowfall in the later part of the winter, especially in the northern part of Illinois."

During La Niña, water off the coast of South America and into the central Pacific Ocean is cooler than normal, says John Eise, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Climate Services program manager. El Niño is the opposite condi-

tion, in which the water is typically warmer.

"La Niña is kind of the flipside of what El Niño would be," Eise says.

"They kind of cycle back and forth. You will have a period of time where it's El Niño ... and then it will reverse," he says.

La Niña and El Niño occur about every three to five years, according to NOAA's website.

*Kendall Cramer and Maureen Foertsch McKinney*

## Legislation aims to help students to save on college textbooks

College students may save a little cash on textbooks this year, and one lawmaker hopes they will eventually be able to completely forgo buying some books.

Legislation went into effect this summer requiring that teachers be notified about the price of textbooks they order. The prices are listed on class schedules, so students know upfront what their costs will be and can plan accordingly. Students also get identification numbers for books, so they can track texts down through alternative sellers, such as online bookstores, and possibly save some cash.

"It was not unusual for a student to spend \$900 to \$1,000 or more each year on textbooks," says U.S. Sen. Dick Durbin, who backed the legislation. "The world of book purchasing is changing dramatically. ... You can shop for any book anywhere online and usually find a bargain."

Durbin added that items often sold with textbooks, such as compact discs or access to Internet services, also now have to be sold separately to keep students from having to buy an entire package to get one piece.

However, Bruce Hildebrand, executive director for higher education at the Association for American Publishers, says textbook publishers already sold many components separately, and it is the retailers' decision to order items as a bundle or as separate pieces. He adds that publishers offer more options than ever — including e-books, black-and-white books, options to buy only sections of books online and textbook rental — that can help students cut costs.

"The driver in the market is what we would hope it would be. It's the faculty trying to find the best materials to help their students pass their courses," he says.

The law also requires publishers to list what information has been added to new editions of books, something Hildebrand says they already do in book forewords.

While Durbin says he experienced pushback from publishers during the legislative process, the industry supported the final version of the bill. Hildebrand says much of it codifies longstanding practices. "Transparency is good for everybody. It's good for the student. It's good for the schools. It's good for the publishers."

Durbin says he wants to promote innovation in the way college textbooks are made available. "With the Internet, a professor in Illinois can create a lecture, a lesson, a book or an entire curriculum and share it online with the students. A teacher across the country can access the education material, adapt it and use it in their own classroom."

He is proposing a four-year program that would dole out \$15 million in competitive grants in its first year to develop free online college textbooks. Durbin says he does not expect any action on the bill this year but plans to push it when the U.S. Senate returns early next year.

Hildebrand says the technological advances Durbin describes are already a reality. He says instead of trying to commission more books, lawmakers should work with the industry to improve access to the existing and rapidly growing realm of education technology. "Publishers do not oppose open source [books]. What publishers do oppose is the government getting into the publishing business."

*Jamey Dunn*

## Cost of speeding tickets climbs

Slow down, Illinois, or pay more.

Bond amounts for many of the most common traffic tickets increased by as much as 60 percent in September.

The bond for speeding up to 20 mph over the limit increased from \$75 to \$120.

Likewise, speeders going more than 20 mph over the limit, but no more than 30 mph over it, face a \$140 bond rather than \$95. Bonds for some other speeding categories also increased. Also, drivers who forget to buckle up now pay a \$60 bond, a \$5 increase.

The increases, signed off by the Illinois Supreme Court, apply to all petty offenses in which violators do not have to appear in court.

Two types of traffic tickets are issued: "must appear" in court; and "may appear," says Jeffrey Ford, a Champaign County Circuit Court judge who chaired a subcommittee that examined the issue. The Supreme Court has preset bonds so people do not have to appear in court.



The subcommittee reviewed bond amounts for "may appear" tickets. An individual who is issued a "may appear" ticket has two options: He or she can post bond with the issuing officer (or mail it in) and then plead guilty at the circuit clerk's office; or can choose to appear in court. However, if an individ-

ual is found guilty in court, he or she will have to pay the amount of bond, additional fines and court costs.

In the end, a person could pay up to \$1,400, depending on the jurisdiction where the ticket was issued, says Ford.

Ford says raising revenue was not behind the increases. The subcommittee began examining the cost of bonds in December 2005. "We looked at the amount for bonds to see if it was appropriate for the time," Ford says.

Before recommending an increase, the subcommittee looked at bond amounts set in other states for the same offenses, as well as at the Consumer Price Index.

The Supreme Court has not increased the bond on petty offenses since 1993.

The increased bond amounts will raise revenue for county and local governments, as well as the state police, but the amount is unclear.

*Kendall Cramer*

For more news see the Illinois Issues Web site at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>



## Urban coyotes

Coyotes spotted this summer in Chicago remind us that wildlife lives even within a city. A coyote that was spotted near a Chicago dog park in September is part of a study, the Cook



County Coyote Project, which started in 2000 to gain a better understanding about the urban ecology of coyotes. Since the study began, more than 300 coyotes have been captured, and 250 have been collared to track their movements. The coyotes are examined and then released in the area where they were caught. Radio collars have shown that coyotes live in the most urbanized areas, including downtown. The study's first coyote, which recently died, had been living in the downtown area for 10 years.

"There is no part of the Chicago landscape that coyotes can't live in," says Stanley Gehrt, associate professor of wildlife ecology at Ohio State University. People might assume that coyotes live in the city or near humans to get food, but in fact, they are "simply being coyotes," he says. "It's actually kind of like the tip of death for them if they do start becoming attracted to our food and trash because that is eventually what causes a conflict." Even in highly urbanized areas, the majority of coyotes search for their own prey, which con-

sists of rodents, rabbits and deer, he says.

The hundreds of coyotes inhabiting Cook County are proficient at avoiding people. Unlike coyotes that live in rural areas, those in urbanized environments are almost exclusively nocturnal. Coyotes have learned it is easier to cross roads and to avoid detection at night, Gehrt says.

In addition to Chicago's metro parks, coyotes live in places that we might not expect to be wildlife habitats, such as corners of cemeteries, parking lot islands or near retention ponds, he says.

Chicagoans should not be afraid if they spot a coyote, he says. A simple clap of the hands or a holler will normally make the coyote run off.

No cases have been documented of coyotes attacking humans in Chicago. In cities where attacks have occurred, every case involved people feeding the animals, Gehrt says.

"If coyotes begin to lose their fear of people, it's because they associate people with food," he says.

*Kendall Cramer*

## Standardized tests to be revamped nationally

Illinois is part of a national effort to revamp standardized assessment of students, and the process is expected to dramatically alter how students take those tests.

Two national consortia representing 44 states have begun the process to develop test systems that will be used nationwide beginning in the 2014-15 school year.

The U.S. Department of Education has devoted \$330 million to the effort.

"I am convinced that this new generation of state assessments will be an absolute game-changer in public education," Arne Duncan, U.S. secretary of education, said in a recent speech about the effort.

The new testing system is expected to set a course for development of a new curriculum based on a new common core standards that have been adopted by 35 states so far [including Illinois, which adopted the standards this summer], Duncan said.

How the consortia studies "play out over the next four years" is going to determine

whether the new assessment system is "transformative or marginally better," says Bill Tucker, managing director of the non-profit, nonpartisan think tank Education Sector.

"It's a pretty exciting time," says Illinois State Superintendent Christopher Koch. "We have been interested for some time in trying to put a greater focus on assessments that help drive instruction. Right now, we have a system that primarily looks at accountability, but assessments that drive instruction are more important because they actually will impact what's going on in the classroom."

Tucker says: "No matter which side of the education debates you sit on, one thing that pretty much cuts across is that folks know the quality of assessments we're using are not what they could be or should be. So this is an effort to dramatically improve the quality of those assessments."

The new exams are expected to be more sophisticated than current standardized tests, such as the ISAT, which is given annually in Illinois, Koch says. The tests

will be online, so they will likely be given three times or so in a year because information on the assessments will be available more quickly than now.

Other states in the consortium Illinois belongs to are Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Tennessee. That consortium, known as the Partnership for Assessment for Readiness for College and Careers, was granted \$170 million by the Department of Education.

One of the key questions, Tucker says, will be whether the consortia can come up with enough "economy of scale" by doing such things as improving the pooling of resources.

Illinois is one of the states considered to be "governing," which means it will have more decision-making power in the consortia than those who do not have that designation, Tucker says.

*Maureen Foertsch McKimney*



## Mini mansion

The historic Dana-Thomas House in Springfield, which was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1904, can be viewed on a new level ... literally.

Terry Taylor, a 47-year-old Springfield "LEGOmaniac," spent four months building a scale model of the state-owned historic site out of nearly 5,000 individual LEGO pieces, he says. In August, he donated the model to the house it replicates.

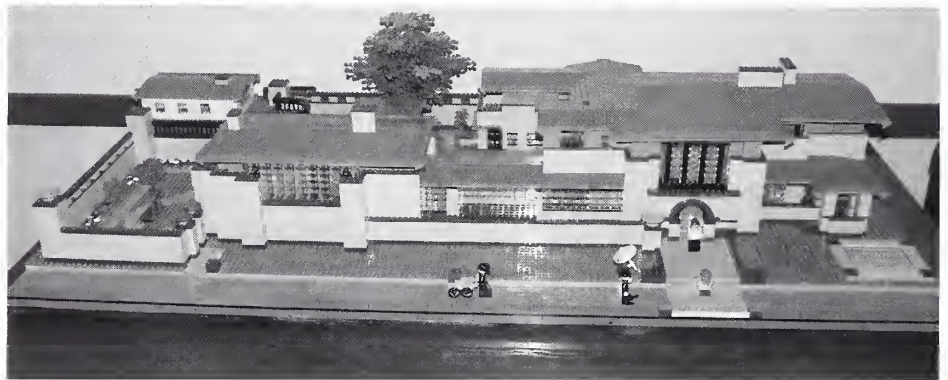
"This is the first piece I've ever built and actually displayed, showed and gave away," he says.

Taylor says he fell in love with the house when he moved to Springfield 25 years ago.

"When you move to a new town, you find something that you reference to, and it just so happened that it was the Dana-Thomas House and the Old State Capitol," he says.

Taylor has been interested in LEGOs since his childhood. It was one of the few toys he had to play with, he says.

Taylor built the Dana-Thomas House replica to present at Brickworld 2010 in Chicago. "Brickworld is an opportunity for LEGO lovers (mostly adults) to get together and share their creations and



*"LEGOmaniac" Terry Taylor's rendition of the Frank Lloyd Wright-designed Dana-Thomas House*

ideas with each other," according to Brickworld's website ([www.brickworld.us/](http://www.brickworld.us/)). Taylor was nominated to win an award for the "large-build" category and received second place.

Dana-Thomas House site manager Chet Rhodes says the LEGO model adds to the home.

"I think it's nice to see different elements and different approaches to it using a different milieu, if you will, to put it together and show people that while the house is very complex and certainly is a work of art, you can also have fun with it."

Wright was recognized as "the greatest American architect of all time"

in a national survey conducted by the American Institute of Architects, according to the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation.

Taylor's model of the Dana-Thomas house is on display in the Carriage House Visitor Center at the Dana-Thomas House Historic Site during regular tour hours 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., Wednesday through Sunday.

Taylor is already working on projects for 2011 Brickworld, one of which is a scale model of Noah's Ark.

"It will have two of every living animal on the planet that LEGO has created," he says.

*Kendall Cramer*



## Who are the pimps?

After conducting a 2008 study on prostitution by interviewing 100 women under the control of a pimp or madam, DePaul University senior research fellow Jody Raphael says she kept getting the same question from audiences when she presented her findings: "Who are these pimps?"

So she and her research partner, Brenda Myers-Powell, decided to find out more about those men and women and their roles in the Chicago sex trade by interviewing former pimps and madams. Powell is co-founder and chief operating officer of Chicago's Dreamcatcher Foundation, which works to support girls and women "involved or at serious risk of being exploited by the sex trade industry." The result of their investigation was a report for DePaul's Schiller DuCanto and Fleck Family Law Center, *From Victims to Victimizers: Interviews with 25 Ex-Pimps in Chicago*.

Raphael says that much like the prostitutes under their control, the pimps in the study had suffered physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Nearly half ran away from an abusive home environment at a young

age. All of the women in the study and more than half the men engaged in prostitution before becoming madams or pimps. Many respondents had been forced into prostitution, in some cases by family members. "They stay in the same arena in which they are abused to grab the power back ... so they're grabbing power back by violating other people," Raphael says. The researchers categorized respondents' reasons for becoming pimps as survival, outside coercion and a need for respect or control over others.

The subjects of the study described the infrastructure of the Chicago sex trade and a seemingly unending demand for prostitution. The pimps said they paid cab drivers, bartenders and hotel and convention center staff who sent them clients. They also paid protection to police and gangs.

"They talked about it as a small business, and they talked about it as entrepreneurs. ... They talked about this as if it were the American dream," Raphael says. She adds that steady demand and community support made the subjects feel justified in their illegal actions.

"As long as there are people with money and power, there will be poorer people who they will be able to buy," one respondent told researchers.

Raphael says that to her knowledge, fewer than five studies have been conducted on pimps. She hopes her research will help communities and law enforcement better combat prostitution in Chicago by understanding its causes and the motivations of people involved in the city's sex trade. "If as a society, we put out the message that being involved in prostitution is wrong and is exploitative, that could really reduce some of the traffic," she says.

After hearing the subjects' stories of abuse and neglect, Raphael says, it is easy to sympathize with them, to a point. But she says people need to remember that the lives of the prostitutes they control are "unspeakable" and compares the conditions to slavery. She says these and other pimps have used violence, threats and rape to dominate the young women who work for them.

Jamey Dunn

## Provide your group with the tools needed to keep up with the complexities of Illinois government.



Keep your board of directors, officers, and members or employees up to date on important issues that affect your association or business

AND

Collaborate with *Illinois Issues* to inform, educate and encourage civic engagement among Illinoisans.



Receive lower rates on subscriptions that include the popular *Roster of State Government Officials*, a spotlight ad, home page link and discounts on advertising.

More information: <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu> • Linda Anderson at [lande3@uis.edu](mailto:lande3@uis.edu) • 217-206-6094

# Who cares?

Perhaps Illinoisans can't muster passion  
because they can't see how it would matter

by Burt Constable

An uncaring Rhett Butler boldly telling Scarlett O'Hara, "Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn" carried so much weight in *Gone With the Wind* that it was voted the most memorable movie line of all time.

Now we are surprised when someone actually gives a hoot in Illinois. Shoulders once immortalized as Big now seem content to shrug. The motto on our state seal reads "State Sovereignty — National Union," but it just as easily could be "Yeah — Whatever."

The White Sox flirted with a pennant race, but fans didn't show. Many Cubs fans, now 102 years removed from their last championship celebration, bought season tickets but stayed home instead of enjoying an afternoon at Wrigley Field. Even lotteries don't seem to interest the populace until the jackpots crack the \$100 million mark.

Perhaps we can't muster any passion because we can't see where it would matter.

"I think there is a sense in this state of a certain powerlessness to change things," says Cindi Canary, director of the nonpartisan Illinois Campaign for Political Reform.

That feeling probably stems from the sad situation of our last two governors — one serving time for corruption, the other impeached, convicted of a felony for lying to the FBI and awaiting a re-trial on other corruption charges. The old Republican governor was a crook, so we went

with the young Democrat who got bounced out of office by a disturbingly familiar corruption scandal.

We tried reform and it didn't work, so the state yawns.

"In many states, if you had that level of corruption, people would come out, be angry and throw the bums out," observes David Yepsen, director of the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. "But corruption is so ingrained in Illinois, people come to expect it. I think that's different than in other states. It is a different view than people have in Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, the Dakotas. It's too bad, too."

It's as if Illinoisans reached a passion threshold long ago.

"One of the things that is different here is it feels like a decade of scandal, maybe a lifetime of scandal," Canary says. "They (other states) have scandals, too, but there is a much sharper outrage that they need to change something. In Illinois, it's: 'Oh well. That's just the way it is.'"

That doesn't mean we should no longer care.

"The response to bad government isn't apathy, it's action. You've got to do something," says former Illinois Attorney General Jim Ryan, who, since he lost his gubernatorial race to Rod Blagojevich in 2002, has been trying to increase community involvement through the Jim Ryan Center for Civic Leadership and Public Service at Benedictine University in Lisle.

If discontent sparks the flames of revolution, a state with literally hundreds of indicted public officials from crooked governors to greedy aldermen should be a bonfire of public action.

"And the response to that is a 23 percent turnout?" Ryan says in reference to the state's record low voter turnout in the February primary election, in which he also ran for governor. "I think a lot of people are so demoralized in this state, they stay home. That's a mistake."

The Land of Lincoln should cotton to Honest Abe's plea for preservation of a government of the people, by the people and for the people. But we don't.

"How many people feel they are in control in this state?" Ryan asks. "We have a very weak, at-risk representative democracy in this state."

The ancient Greek philosopher Plato once said, "The price of apathy toward public affairs is to be ruled by evil men." That quip fits nicely on a T-shirt, but does it inspire anyone today to find out what it means?

Ignorance is apathy's BFF.

Noting that two out of three Americans can name a judge on "American Idol" but only one in seven know John Roberts is the chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, former Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor started an iCivics.org website to help students and teachers learn about government and civics.

Awareness can be the antidote to apathy.



"We find apathy is kind of a myth, a misnomer," says Brian Brady, longtime executive director of the Mikva Challenge, a nonpartisan, not-for-profit organization that inspires young people to become involved in public service and politics. Founded in 1997 as a tribute to former judge, White House counsel and Congressman Abner Mikva and his wife, Zoc, a lifelong education activist, the agency encourages "action civics."

"I don't think people are apathetic. I think people are uninvited and untrained," Brady notes. "They don't know how to be powerful in our government structure, and they don't have the skills."

People don't just stay home on Election Day because they don't care or there is something really good on TV.

"There's a difference between a lethargic voter and one that has just checked out, who is just cynical and despondent," Yepsen says.

The economy is partly to blame. Unemployment, foreclosures, debt and uncertainty can set the stage for apathy to rise among the people. These times can crush young people who do everything they are told and still come out of college with massive debts and no jobs.

"They are feeling kind of down, and I don't blame them," Yepsen says. "I think that is a thing that can lead to apathy. People are in survival mode. There's a cocooning that is going on. You turn inward."

Are we just too busy paying bills and worrying about our personal futures to care about anything else? In the Great Depression, people dealt with the same issues, and they seemed to come together for the good of everyone. Even their songs rejected apathy with lyrics such as, "Oh, we ain't got a barrel of money. Maybe we're ragged and funny. But we'll travel along, singing a song, side by side."

"I think there is some difference," Yepsen says. "Unlike the Great Depression, we're not all in this together. I think there is a growing split between the haves and the have-nots, and it spawns apathy in some and in others, anger."

While Brady says he appreciates and is "inspired" by some of the outbursts from the Tea Party on the right and Lady Gaga on the left, the solution is not simply assigning blame and voting against something.

"We put the cart before the horse by saying: 'People need to vote! People need to vote,'" Brady says. "Ask people how would they like to see their community improve, and voting becomes a byproduct of that."

But sometimes in this age of instant gratification, voting quickly leads to apathy.

"People are disappointed in the failed efforts to reform the system," notes Ron Michaelson, former executive director of the State Board of Elections who is a visiting professor with the Institute for Legal, Legislative and Policy Studies at the University of Illinois Springfield. "Maybe they had unrealistic expectations, but they think more should have happened by now."

Candidates contribute to that disappointment by promising more than they can deliver.

Brady says many Illinois politicians are examples of Mario Cuomo's quip that "You campaign in poetry, but you govern in prose."

"I think we need more political leadership," says Michelson, who observes that politicians often make decisions based on what might be best for their election hopes instead of what is best for society.

That's even more of a problem in a political system where "too many people are in it as a vocation instead of as an avocation," Michelson says.

Attracting better candidates starts at the community, grassroots level. The power of the Internet and social media gives us "a real opportunity to attack apathy," Brady says.

Almost everyone agrees that bringing more people to the political process results in better leadership. That starts with showing kids that they can have an impact.

"We need to teach our students to be citizens and not just test-takers," Brady says.

Half of the states, including Illinois, cut back or eliminated civics classes to make room for more teaching of math and science that might help good students get jobs someday. But teaching everyone to be good citizens should result in a better society, these Illinois activists agree.

"There's no short-term fix to this," Brady warns.

## ***The ancient Greek philosopher Plato once said,***

***"The price of apathy toward public affairs is to be ruled by evil men."***



The key is making the connection between local involvement and the big political picture, Canary says. People might think their vote doesn't matter in a statewide or national race and that they can't change anything.

"I get a different sense when I look at my neighborhood," Canary says. People organize food drives to help the poor or unemployed. They host fundraisers for sick people. They work to save a library or put up a stop sign.

"Once they see their voice matters," people can apply that same principle to bigger issues, she notes.

"When I go out and speak, it seems everybody always wants this magic way to influence legislators," Canary says. "I tell them to call and write. They look at me like I'm crazy, but it works. Don't be afraid of being bullied by public servants."

Apathy may have found a home in Illinois, but that atmosphere can change.

"We have to raise people's expectations," Ryan says, suggesting that people start the turnaround by turning the next election into a real-life civics lesson. "Don't just wait to get your information from attack ads and 30-second sound bites. The only way you change the culture is through civic education."

To drive a stake through the heart of apathy, we must be involved, engaged and informed.

"Until that culture changes," Yepsen says, "I think the state is in for several years of hard times." □

*Burt Constable is a columnist for the suburban Chicago Daily Herald.*



# Partnerships

Illinois in many ways leads the pack on public-private partnerships, but experts say officials must make them beneficial to the public

by Jamey Dunn



Anyone who logged on to the Illinois Lottery website in September to read the bids from private firms vying to manage the lottery came across pages of blacked-out information.

All the documents associated with the bid were posted to the site soon after the winner, Northstar Lottery Group, was announced — just as Gov. Pat Quinn and lottery officials had promised. This was the public's chance to look at the proposals for the first-in-the-nation plan intended to raise money for capital construction projects. However, according to Quinn, large portions of documentation were redacted at the request of the private firms involved.

As state and local government officials across the country start to see red ink in their budgets, some are looking to private interests to lease assets, provide services typically administered by the government and invest in infrastructure projects that might not be built without private investments. Illinois is in many ways leading the pack on public-private partnerships, but experts say state officials need to work harder to ensure that such agreements are transparent, well-managed and beneficial to the public.

Former Gov. Rod Blagojevich pitched the idea of leasing the lottery to a private company for a large infusion of quick cash. The idea was a no-go because it would, in essence, create a private lottery, which is illegal in the United States.

Illinois instead tapped Northstar — which represents three vendors currently providing services to the Illinois Lottery, Rhode-Island-based GTECH Corp., New York-based Scientific Games Inc. and Chicago-based Energy BBDO — to manage lottery operations for 10 years.

Northstar pledged to bring in \$1.1 billion more than the state would have made on its own and \$500 million more than the competing firm, Camelot Group, said it could increase revenues. If Northstar lives up to that pledge, it will get incentive payments. If the firm cannot reach its own goals, it must pay back half of the difference to the state. If it does not bring in as much as the state estimates it would have made on its own, the firm has to repay the entire shortfall.

Lottery officials will work alongside Northstar and have veto power over the group's decisions. Acting Lottery Superintendent Jodie Winnett conceded that a private firm could run the lottery more effectively than the state, saying it is hard to stay on the cutting edge of promotions when dealing with the red tape of government. "To be a nimble responsive marketing organization [as part of a large bureaucracy] is difficult," she said at a Chicago news conference.

The bidding process for the lottery contract was roundly criticized for lacking transparency. Camelot filed a complaint alleging that the selection of Northstar was a foregone conclusion from the start. The

complaint says Northstar got preferential access to information and officials, and that the heavily redacted online release of the two firms' bids makes it impossible to determine which one was best. Camelot has asked the Illinois Department of Revenue to put a hold on awarding the contract and reopen the bidding process. Another firm eliminated earlier in the process, Intralot S.A., has also filed a complaint. The Department of Revenue is reviewing both while continuing to take the necessary steps to hand over management to Northstar.

Jeffrey Cramer, who helped to investigate bidders and the selection process for the state, said the department took great care to ensure Northstar and Camelot got equal access to information, including using an identical script for meetings with each firm, "This process is not going the way of the Illinois' ... well-documented history of corruption," Cramer, managing director of the Chicago office of Kroll's Business Intelligence and a former prosecutor, said at Chicago news conference.

David Merriman, associate director of the University of Illinois' Institute of Government and Public Affairs, says there is a perception that government cannot be as "market-oriented" as the private sector. But he added there are times when the public does not want government services to be administered by the basic capitalist principle of profit over all other concerns. Merriman says while increasing lottery



revenues could be a positive for the state, “we probably don’t want the lottery to sell lots and lots of tickets to poor neighborhoods and sell false hope.”

E. S. Savas, a presidential professor at Baruch College in New York, says contracting private businesses to provide government services, something Illinois does for everything from foster care to providing school lunches, became popular in England and the United States during the 1970s. The concept of public-private partnerships has since expanded to a large variety of models.

Leasing large revenue-generating assets, such as toll roads, to private investors creates a huge cash infusion without the political hit of a tax increase. Meanwhile, private companies can increase tolls to a level that officials often say would be impossible for them to achieve for fear of alienating voters.

Perhaps the most infamous example of that is Chicago’s 2009 lease of its 36,000 parking meters to investor group Chicago Parking Meters. The group paid \$1.15 billion to lease the meters for 75 years.

That move came on the heels of the 99-year lease of the Chicago Skyway for \$1.8 billion in 2004. According to a report from then-Chicago Inspector General David Hoffman, the Skyway deal was the first of its kind in the country. “While [public-private partnerships] had been used to finance the building of new infrastructure, this was the first major agreement where an existing revenue-generating asset was leased to a private company in exchange for a large upfront payment.”

Neighboring Indiana followed suit in 2006 with a 75-year-lease of the Indiana Toll Road, which brought that state \$3.8 billion.

“We’re taking steps that no other city or state is taking to cushion our taxpayers from the bad economy and keep our city moving forward. This agreement [to lease the city’s parking meters] is very good news for the taxpayers of Chicago because it will provide more than \$1 billion in net proceeds that can be used during this very difficult economy,” Mayor Richard Daley said at a Chicago news conference after announcing the winning bid.

But any triumph officials may have felt over the deal soon faded. As fees went up and many meters malfunctioned, public

## A shaky partnership

Some public-private partnerships come about as a means of survival for an entity the government deems beneficial to the public. In one such case, however, the state pulled its support during the current budget crisis.

Wildlife Prairie State Park near Peoria opened in 1978. It was managed, owned and funded by the Forest Park Foundation and was completely independent of the public sector. But after years of operation, “the foundation’s resources were becoming smaller and smaller or at least less liquid,” says James Tomlin, Forest Park Foundation vice president and treasurer.

So, with the help of then-Gov. George Ryan, the park and some surrounding land owned by the foundation became the property of the state of Illinois in 2000. The foundation continued to manage the park and to contribute some funding.

In recent years, money from the state has become spotty. Though funding was

backlash hit a fever pitch. The *Chicago Sun-Times* reported a spike in incidents of vandalized meters.

The deal allows Chicago Parking Meters to increase the number of hours when people are required to feed meters and to double rates by 2013. Merriman, a public finance expert, says if officials are going to let private firms spike tolls on infrastructure, the state should consider ways to help low-income residents afford travel through tax benefits and better public transit. “I don’t think we want the private sector to be doing that kind of social engineering.”

Hoffman’s report accuses city officials of rushing into the agreement and leasing the meters for almost \$1 billion less than the city would have made if it had hung onto them.

The report says projected revenue from the lease was included in the city’s proposed 2009 budget before Chicago officials even knew how much it would bring in. Hoffman’s report says the City Council backed itself into a corner with that move before knowing the specifics, such as the amount of the rate increases,

appropriated for the park last fiscal year, the foundation received no money. This year the park’s funding has been cut entirely. The foundation supports other projects, and its leaders feared keeping the park afloat would tap out all their resources.

Half the park staff was eliminated through a voluntary buyout. The group Friends of Wildlife Prairie State Park was created to take over funding and running the park, but the land still belongs to the state. Tomlin says the group may ask the state to give back the land around the park so it can be leased, sold or used in some way to generate revenue.

Even though the end result of partnering with the government is a park that is publicly owned but not publicly supported, Tomlin says he does not regret the choice. “I think it was a positive move. I think that we are farther along now than we would have been had we not been a state park.”

Jamey Dunn

because failing to approve the meter lease would mean tossing the budget.

The council accepted the plan with a 40-to-5 vote just two days after the details of the lease went public. The inspector general also took issue with the rapid timeline in his report: “There is simply no reason for these types of decisions to be rushed through the City’s legislative body, with little time to digest and analyze a complicated transaction, with limited information provided and with little opportunity for public input and reaction. This has the obvious effect of making informed deliberation, consideration of alternatives and potential opposition less likely.”

Last May, Daley took the heat for some of the problems with the parking meter lease. “I’ll take the responsibility. I’ll take it. ... There should have been a transition — a much better transition — and there wasn’t. That’s one thing we learned. There should have been a three-month transition,” Daley told the *Sun-Times*.

However, he still defended the move, saying it prevented a city budget crisis.



*The lease of the Chicago Skyway in 2004 for \$1.8 billion was the first of its kind.*

Merriman says politicians often use the money from such deals “as a crutch to avoid making hard decisions,” such as difficult cuts or a tax increase. He adds, “From an economic point of view, selling off a public revenue source is the same thing as borrowing.”

Despite some of the setbacks in the parking meter deal, Savas, who also served as assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development under former President Ronald Reagan, says public-private partnerships can benefit governments so long as officials take a long view when creating contracts and strive for transparency.

“The private sector generally survives by providing good service at a price people can afford,” Savas says.

He says governments must set strict standards for how they want a program to be run or an asset to be maintained and must follow through with oversight and penalties if necessary. He added that Illinois — and especially Chicago — must make strong efforts at transparency to put the public at ease because of a longstanding reputation of corruption. Savas agrees that entering into a partnership with the private sector for quick cash is not ideal, and such arrangements should instead be used to achieve specific

goals, such as paying off debt or realizing large transportation projects.

Illinois is shopping just such a plan. The Illiana expressway, a highway that would connect Chicago’s south suburbs with Indiana, has been proposed for 20 years. Politicians from both states hope pitching the route as a toll road to private investors will jump-start construction, since neither state can afford to build the road now.

Daley is also seeking private backing for infrastructure projects in the city. He traveled in September to China and Korea, where he said he would seek investors.

The mayor created a panel to look into building a privately funded high-speed rail line to move people quickly between downtown Chicago and O’Hare airport. He said investors from China, Japan and the Middle East have expressed interest.

Proponents of public-private partnerships warn that botched plans — lacking transparency and competent management — make voters less open to public-private endeavors that are well-planned and beneficial.

The Chicago-based Civic Federation, a research organization that seeks to promote government efficiency, supports the concept of public-private partnerships

in principle. But federation president Laurence Msall, who is also a member of *Illinois Issues*’ advisory board, says both Chicago and the state made some mistakes in their recent endeavors.

He says the lack of openness could give public-private partnerships a bad name with Illinoisans. “The state of Illinois should do a much better job of providing full disclosure and transparency.”

The federation opposed the city’s use of Skyway and meter lease profits to fund the daily operating budget. The group called on the City Council to create a process to determine whether to use proceeds from a large asset lease to shore up the city’s operating budget in an emergency. Msall says that would require officials to prove that a so-called crisis warrants spending part of a one-time payment.

“If you spend it all in one year, then you have to figure out what you are going to do for the other 98 years,” he says.

Even though economic times are tough, Msall says the state should proceed with care on any future deals with the private sector and consider the long-term benefits and drawbacks of its investments. “We shouldn’t lose our heads. We should learn from past mistakes.” □



# Federal intervention

Is the stimulus program invigorating Illinois' economy?

by Daniel C. Vock

Although the federal stimulus package is increasingly unpopular among the American public, there's little doubt that Illinois' top Democrats support it. In mid-September, U.S. Sen. Dick Durbin and Gov. Pat Quinn came to Alton to tout the fact that Illinois became the first state in the nation to start work on high-speed rail improvements paid for by the stimulus bill.

The pair said upgrading the 90-mile stretch of railroad from Alton to Springfield would initially create 900 jobs, directly and indirectly. All told, improving the route from Chicago to St. Louis so trains could cover the distance in four hours would add 24,000 Illinois jobs, they claimed. "This project," Quinn said, "is essential to strengthening Illinois' eco-

nomic recovery, creating jobs and developing long-term investment in Illinois."

The stimulus package is indeed having a major impact on Illinois. The money has funded construction projects such as the high-speed rail upgrades, softened the recession's impact on the state budget and spurred changes in policy regarding everything from charter schools to Medicaid reimbursements. But the fundamental question of whether the stimulus is working here — in other words, whether it's made the economy better than it would have been otherwise — is one that may not be answered by economists before the public reaches its verdict. Politically, at least, Americans are not sold on the stimulus.

Three-fifths of respondents believed the stimulus had not helped the country's job

situation, compared with only a third of respondents who said it did, according to a national June poll by the Pew Research Center. That means support for the federal intervention is slipping. In February 2009, when the stimulus was signed into law, half of respondents supported the idea.

Soaring public debts at both the state and federal level have not revived the moribund economy, and joblessness remains high. By August, Illinois' unemployment rate was still at 10.1 percent — far higher than the 8.7 percent where it stood in February 2009 — and still higher than the national average of 9.6 percent.

The best argument that Democrats have to defend the stimulus package is that it prevented the economy from getting even worse. Many nonpartisan economists have reached that conclusion, with congressional researchers saying the package saved some 3 million jobs throughout the country. But that's cold comfort to laid-off workers still looking for a job. President Barack Obama himself has expressed frustration with how long the recovery has taken. Republicans, meanwhile, have used it as a campaign issue to attack Democrats.

"President Obama said his trillion-dollar stimulus package 'worked.' The American people know otherwise," said Peter Roskam, a Republican congressman from Wheaton, just a week before the Alton announcement. "Eighteen months and \$500 billion in stimulus spending later, President Obama still doesn't get it. He

## Illinois stimulus funds by category

### Amount Awarded

Education	\$3,022,396,360.26
Energy and environment	\$441,221,690.11
Health and human services	\$2,732,691,455.74
Housing	\$187,107,488.00
Public safety	\$33,107,968.18
Transportation	\$678,806,997.53
Workforce development	\$4,986,860,599.67

As of August. Source: State of Illinois

said that with the first stimulus package, unemployment would peak at 8 percent. Now we're at 9.6 percent unemployment nationally, and the situation is much worse in many states."

What is certain is that the political climate changed dramatically since the stimulus bill passed. Few Republicans supported the original proposal, but by this year, the Democrat-controlled Congress took months to pass a \$26 billion follow-up bill — which included a six-month extension of a boost in aid to states. Then they were able to do so only by taking money from other safety net programs. A September proposal by Obama to dedicate \$50 billion more toward improving the nation's roads, runways and rails also fell flat.

In Alton, Durbin addressed the mounting skepticism. "Come to Alton and see what's happening nine months after Illinois got the grant," he said of stimulus critics, according to *The (Alton) Telegraph*.

"There are now 900 more good-paying jobs in Illinois. My question for skeptics is, 'What would you do?'" Durbin asked. "It's not just 900 jobs on this segment; 6,000 more people will go to work on the high-speed rail. ... They are going to be buying materials from Decatur, as well as ballast from Missouri. Generations to come will have better rail service."

**One of the most** frustrating things about evaluating the stimulus plan is that economists don't have any great way to measure its effectiveness. It's not like a lab experiment, where economists can compare two identical scenarios with only one variable — in this case the stimulus — being different. To determine how effective the stimulus was, economists explain, you would have to try to figure out what would have happened without that stimulus.

Several other factors, of course, are at play, too. The stimulus, after all, was one of many major federal actions to try to stop the economic fall early in the recession. First, Congress and President George W. Bush passed the \$700 billion "bailout" of banks and financial institutions, called the Troubled Asset Relief Program, or TARP. Second, the Federal Reserve acted aggressively to keep credit markets working and to try to stave off deflation. The Fed, for

## Stimulus funds to Illinois

Total awarded  
**\$8,444,100,000**

Total received  
**\$4,455,370,000**

Reported jobs created  
**21,642**

*As of June 30. Source: Recovery.gov*

example, bought \$1.25 trillion in mortgage-backed securities. Finally, Obama signed the stimulus bill, now estimated to cost more \$814 billion, little more than a month after taking office.

A few national studies, widely touted by Democrats, concluded that the stimulus did, indeed, make the situation better. Mark Zandi, the chief economist of Moody's Analytics, and Alan Blinder, a Princeton University economist, tried to model the entire U.S. economy with or without the stimulus in a report released this summer. They concluded that the effects of the federal stimulus were "very substantial." They estimated that the package raised the country's gross domestic product by 3.4 percent, kept the unemployment rate 1.5 percentage points lower than it would have been otherwise and added 2.7 million American jobs. At the same time, though, they said other federal policies, including the "bailout" of banks and response by the Federal Reserve, had an even greater benefit.

The Congressional Budget Office reached similar conclusions about the stimulus bill. The agency estimates that the stimulus package will account for somewhere between 1.9 million and 4.7 million full-time jobs in 2010, compared with 700,000 to 1.3 million jobs last year. According to the CBO, the number of stimulus-supported jobs will taper off some during 2011 then drop substantially by 2012.

Unfortunately, state-by-state estimates of the stimulus' effects are difficult to come by. Numbers vary from various sources. By the state's count, the stimulus package had sent more than \$11.5 billion to Illinois by the end of July. (A nonprofit news gathering group, ProPublica, calculated the overall amount at more than

\$14.2 billion in early June.) Recipients of stimulus funds reported that in the second quarter of 2010, the stimulus package had funded 21,635 jobs in the state, although that number does not include the effects of two of the largest portions of the stimulus — tax cuts and aid to states. The CBO says that during the second quarter of 2010, reports from recipients only reflect one-fifth of the total amount of government spending or tax breaks from the stimulus package.

**The stimulus package**, formally titled the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, or ARRA, is a wide-ranging collection of government spending and tax breaks. Its biggest components include tax breaks for individuals and families; aid to states and localities, particularly money for Medicaid and schools; and construction funds, mostly dedicated to repairing bridges and roads.

Some of those components are similar to other stimulus packages that Congress passed during the last decade. Congress tried to get the economy moving in 2001, for example, by mailing Americans \$300 checks and by sending money to states. When the Great Recession first struck, the federal government responded again by trying to put money in the hands of consumers, this time with \$600 checks for individuals and \$1,200 for families.

"If you're in office, stimulus always seems like a good idea" says Fred Giertz, an economics professor at the University of Illinois' Institute of Government and Public Affairs. Congress probably would have passed a stimulus package in 2009 even if John McCain had become president instead of Obama, he says. "If you're a politician, you want to be considered as active, not necessarily for economic reasons but for political reasons."

But in terms of sheer size and scope, the 2009 legislation dwarfs its predecessors. The stimulus law passed only a year before Obama's, for example, cost \$168 billion, a third of what the 2009 law cost.

The architects of Obama's stimulus also included dozens of policy provisions that can have far-reaching effects. Because of the stimulus, dozens of states, including Illinois, have changed their policies on charter schools and evaluating teachers, thanks to the Race to the Top competition. Billions of dollars are going toward



expanding the use and availability of broadband technology. Midwestern states are working on building a network of faster passenger trains, using Chicago as its hub. There's money to restore shoreline along the Great Lakes. The list goes on. Also included are provisions for electronic health records, "smart" electrical grids, unemployment insurance and home weatherization.

In Illinois, the Obama administration pointed out in a recent report, tax credits in the stimulus package cleared the way for a Streator wind project, with 150 turbines and generating enough electricity to power 86,000 homes. Another \$25 million is going to repair the Eads Bridge in St. Louis, which spans the Mississippi River between Missouri and Illinois. Other projects include the renovation of public housing for senior citizens in Chicago; the clean-up of a site contaminated with hazardous waste on Waukegan's lakefront; and the roll-out of smart electric meters in Naperville.

"Many of these projects," Vice President Joe Biden wrote, "lay the foundation for sustainable economic growth and job creation: traditional infrastructure projects like highway, railroad and waterway construction and 21st century infrastructure projects like the installation of broadband lines and towers."

**One place where** the stimulus has had an undeniable effect is on state government. Nearly two-thirds of the money in the stimulus, after all, passed through or went to state governments nationwide.

The federal government, for example, increased its share of Medicaid expenses. Normally, Illinois and the federal government split the cost of the health insurance program for the poor about 50-50. Under the stimulus program, though, the federal government is picking up nearly 62 cents of every dollar. It's not small change. By the end of this year, that's expected to translate into an additional \$2.8 billion in the state treasury.

Illinois received an additional \$3 billion for school aid, money that is often described as preventing teacher layoffs. A total of \$936 million went toward building or repairing highways and bridges.

But along with the cash, states had to accept the conditions that Congress attached to the money. One Medicaid rule

	U.S.	Illinois
<b>Population</b>	<b>304,059,724</b>	<b>12,901,563</b>
<b>Total recovery funding</b>	<b>\$355,821,708,578</b>	<b>\$14,237,317,960</b>
<b>Funding per capita</b>	<b>\$1,170</b>	<b>\$1,104</b>
<b>Unemployment percent</b>		
2008	5.8	6.4
2009	+3.5 9.3	+3.7 10.1
April 2010	9.9	10.8
<b>Median household income</b>	<b>\$50,007</b>	<b>\$53,745</b>
<b>Poverty rate</b>	<b>13.3 percent</b>	<b>12.1 percent</b>

*Numbers as of June 30. Source: ProPublica.org, U.S. Census Bureau*

addressed Illinois' notorious backlog for paying its Medicaid providers; the stimulus required that to get the enhanced federal match, states must pay doctors and hospitals quickly. What that means, though, is that the state pays those protected Medicaid providers first, while other state vendors — such as pharmacies and social service agencies — must wait longer.

The stimulus also prevented states from scaling back eligibility for Medicaid. Of course, during a recession, the number of people who qualify for Medicaid increases when they lose jobs or no longer earn as much as they did. But recessions are also the time when states can least afford to provide more coverage, so they often make it more difficult for residents to qualify for Medicaid during economic downturns. The stimulus, though, prevented states from doing that, even going so far as forcing them to rescind some cut-backs they had made before the stimulus passed. Even though the boost in Medicaid payments runs out next June, the new federal health reform law prevents states from significantly scaling back Medicaid eligibility for years to come.

The federal stimulus money on infrastructure is being spent at the same time as Illinois' launch of its first public works program in a decade. But Chris Cornell, an economist with Moody's Analytics, says the construction industry in Illinois has been hit harder than just about any other state. Even with the stimulus money and the capital construction program, he says, "there is no shortage of unemployed construction workers."

Looking into the future, Cornell says high-speed rail is the most relevant stimulus program for the future of Illinois' economy. Improvements on passenger rail could also boost the performance of freight rail, which share the same tracks. He says the fact that the planned Midwestern network is based in Chicago could boost the city's role as a major transportation hub, helping it remain competitive with other logistical centers such as Atlanta.

Although downstate has fared better, the Chicago area is still stuck in the recession that struck in 2007, Cornell says, and the state as a whole won't recover until the Chicago area improves. The housing market there is especially worrisome. Although housing prices have slowed their decline, they may be pushed lower as lenders that ended up owning homes through foreclosure start selling their "shadow inventory." There's a worry among economists that the scenario could force a double-dip recession, he says.

And the stimulus package could be for naught in Illinois if state government doesn't get its fiscal house in order, Cornell warns. The uncertainty caused by the state's mushrooming budget deficit puts a damper on economic recovery efforts because businesses can't plan for the future. The state budget crunch could lead to tax hikes, deteriorating schools or neglected roads, all of which affect the business climate. "Illinois is in terrible shape, compared to other states," Cornell says, "and the state's budget problems are foremost among the reasons for that." □

*Daniel C. Vock is a Washington, D.C.-based reporter for Stateline.org.*

# Interest comes due

---

Illinois' nightmarish budget situation could get even scarier  
in the not-too-distant future

by Kurt Erickson

Given Illinois' nightmarish budget situation, it should come as little surprise that there is yet another frightening financial monster lurking in the not-too-distant future. Amid the huge backlog of bills and unpaid pension obligations, the state also has borrowed more than \$2.2 billion from the federal government to continue paying out unemployment benefits to laid-off workers.

And now, the bill for that borrowing — an estimated \$250 million in interest — is about to come due. In the next few months, Illinois and other states will have to figure out how to repay the money to the feds, while also attempting to craft a plan to replenish their depleted unemployment insurance trust funds.

Although Congress and President Barack Obama could come up with a solution to lessen the looming financial blow, business and labor groups — who have the most at stake when it comes to the issue of jobless benefits — aren't figuring on any quick fix.

"It really is the ticking time bomb," says Mark Denzler, government relations chief for the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, which represents large business interests in the Capitol.

"We're in the red to the feds," adds Timothy Drea, secretary/treasurer of the Illinois AFL-CIO.

Throughout the country, states manage Unemployment Insurance Trust Funds to pay jobless benefits to workers who lose their jobs. The main goal of the program is to partially replace the wages of workers who've lost their jobs. The idea is to keep communities that are especially hard hit by job losses from unraveling from the effects of joblessness.

The fund is financed by employer contributions, with no infusion of state tax dollars. Businesses pay a percentage of a worker's salary into the fund at a rate similar to life and health insurance premiums. Companies that have a high track record of layoffs may pay more per worker than companies with more stable employment histories. The system

is designed to build up the fund in robust economic times so it can provide benefits to unemployed workers in dire financial times.

Illinois' descent into the borrowing mess didn't start until July 2009. Before then, the state had a relatively healthy balance in its account. At the beginning of that year, the state had nearly \$1.5 billion saved up, but the surge of bad economic news and layoffs helped bring the balance down to \$100 million by the end of July.

By the next month, Illinois was asking for federal help. Over the past year, officials have had to tap the federal line of credit for \$2.2 billion. In recent months, things have leveled out a bit. Through the end of August, \$414 million was in the account, and the state hadn't had to borrow since April.

Illinois, however, may not be able to get through the year without tapping the federal money again.

"I would anticipate that will be the case," says Greg Rivara, spokesman for



## Illinois unemployment insurance trust fund balance as of December 31 of each year since 1980

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
								<b>1980</b>		\$ (917,733,000.00)								<b>1987</b>		\$ 303,186,631.65									
								<b>1981</b>		\$ (1,380,907,000.00)								<b>1988</b>		\$ 806,244,491.31									
								<b>1982</b>		\$ (2,069,018,000.00)								<b>1989</b>		\$ 1,268,153,312.34									
								<b>1983</b>		\$ (2,418,240,000.00)								<b>1990</b>		\$ 1,427,017,180.14									
								<b>1984</b>		\$ (1,707,000,000.00)								<b>1991</b>		\$ 1,147,273,063.19									
								<b>1985</b>		\$ (1,079,000,000.00)								<b>1992</b>		\$ 830,590,918.74									
								<b>1986</b>		\$ (415,000,000.00)								<b>1993</b>		\$ 837,088,717.06									
																		<b>1994</b>		\$ 1,225,638,677.78									
																		<b>1995</b>		\$ 1,601,306,368.70									
																		<b>1996</b>		\$ 1,610,893,039.57									
																		<b>1997</b>		\$ 1,713,205,853.08									
																		<b>1998</b>		\$ 1,896,291,103.93									
																		<b>1999</b>		\$ 2,007,962,458.12									
																		<b>2000</b>		\$ 2,087,700,291.22									
																		<b>2001</b>		\$ 1,321,849,129.41									
																		<b>2002</b>		\$ 477,894,006.92									
																		<b>2003</b>		\$ 4,884,185.00									
																		<b>2004</b>		\$ 150,675,101.74									
																		<b>2005</b>		\$ 488,390,400.00									
																		<b>2006</b>		\$ 1,280,862,806.00									
																		<b>2007</b>		\$ 1,801,982,830.50									
																		<b>2008</b>		\$ 1,456,078,075.93									
																		<b>2009</b>		\$ 8,974,864.72									

Source: ETA 2112

the Illinois Department of Employment Security.

It's not the first time Illinois has had to borrow to keep the benefits flowing. In the economic downturn of the early 1980s, the state found itself more than \$2 billion short and sought out a federal loan. What's not clear is exactly why Illinois' fund ran out of money this time around. Were benefits too high? Was the employer contribution too low? Or, did no one foresee the magnitude of a recession that has left tens of thousands of people without jobs?

Most agree that the lingering economic problems have caused the meltdown.

"We're not pointing fingers at anyone," says Drea of the Illinois AFL-CIO. "We're looking for solutions."

Illinois' current system was put in place in what was considered a landmark agreement inked between business and labor in 2003. Those groups say the 2003 agreement resulted in a system that is reasonable in benefits to out-of-work employees and costs to employers.

Labor groups consider Illinois a "good" benefit state, while business groups accept the tax structure. Both sides would like to keep it that way as they attempt to work through the potentially painful process of rebuilding the fund.

Nationally, the average annual unemployment tax rate on businesses is about \$275 per worker, according to the National Employment Law Project, which advocates on behalf of workers. Based on figures from 2008, the most recent available, Illinois businesses pay about \$456 per employee, putting the state seventh in the nation in terms of the amount businesses are paying into the fund.

Those contributions from businesses are then deposited into the state's fund and are used to pay out an average weekly benefit of about \$324 to each unemployed worker. That benefit, which initially lasts 26 weeks with varying extensions beyond then, puts Illinois in the top 10 in the nation in terms of benefits.

If nothing else, Illinois can take solace that it isn't alone when it comes to needing a federal boost. Thirty-two states have borrowed nearly \$40 billion during the recession. The U.S. Department of

---

***By the end of 2010, the projected deficit in Illinois' fund is expected to be \$2.75 billion. By some estimates, that could grow to as high as \$7 billion by the end of 2012.***

Labor estimates that by late 2013, as many as 40 states will need to borrow \$90 billion to keep the benefits flowing.

By the end of 2010, the projected deficit in Illinois' fund is expected to be \$2.75 billion. By some estimates, that could grow to as high as \$7 billion by the end of 2012.

"The bleeding is going to go on longer," says George Wentworth, a senior attorney with the New York-based National Employment Law Project, which studies the issue.

Along with borrowing, Illinois and 34 other states have tried to adjust what they collect from businesses. In some cases, such as Illinois, states raised their taxable wage base, which gives businesses the basis on which to figure how they will pay into the fund for each employee. Illinois' wage base is now \$12,520.

For now, the federal government has not required states to repay the loans with interest. But beginning in 2011, Illinois could be on the hook for \$250 million to \$300 million in interest payments — at a time when the state is already in dire fiscal shape. What's more, the law prohibits states from repaying the interest from unemployment insurance revenue. That means Illinois' next governor could face having to cut popular state services to repay interest.

As a testament to the severity of the problem, a rare coalition of representatives of Illinois-based business and labor groups traveled to Washington, D.C., earlier this year to lobby for an extension of the federal waiver on interest payments.

In the day-long surge, the group met with U.S. Sen. Dick Durbin and a handful of members of Illinois' congressional delegation, outlining the problems facing the state.

"We wanted to let them know there is a problem," says David Vite, executive director of the Illinois Retail Merchants Association.

Sean Stott, a representative of the Laborers' International union who was along for the trip, says the meetings were "remarkable" in that the two usually confrontational groups were on the same page.

"It was very much a team effort," Stott says.

Vite is among those who believe Illinois' depleted fund could have withstood a traditional slowdown. But the built-in protections were not strong enough to keep the fund from collapsing as the recession has dragged on. "The floor dropped out. It was a once-in-a-century kind of problem," he says.

"Nobody foresaw the severity of this recession," adds Drea, who joined Vite on the mission to Washington, D.C. "I think Illinois has been responsible."

Wentworth agrees that the extent of the recession was not expected. Nearly half of those who have used the benefits have exceeded the initial 26-week window for benefits. The last time Illinois depleted its fund — in the recession of the 1980s — just a quarter of out-of-work Americans were considered long-term.

A multi-tiered solution could be in the offing. Along with pushing Congress to waive or delay interest payments, the Illinois legislature could begin talks aimed at boosting how much employers contribute or lowering how much workers receive in benefits — or some combination of both.

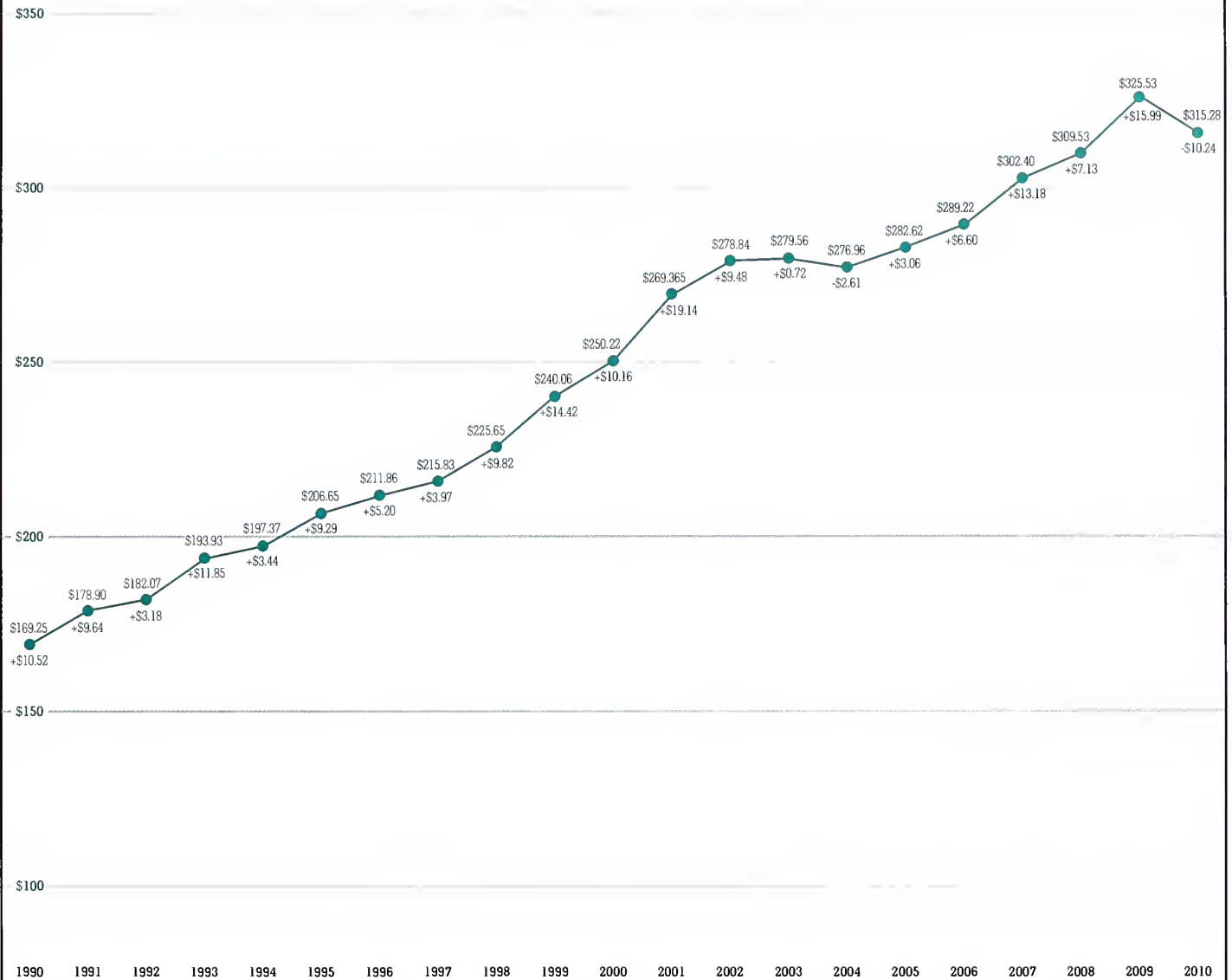
The state isn't putting too much hope that the interest will be waived. "I just don't know how realistic that is," Rivara says. So that leaves negotiations between business and labor as the main hope.

It's not hard to imagine that the talks could get intense. Labor groups oppose cutting benefits, while companies oppose higher taxes. And both have strong presences in Springfield.

Just as in 2003, both sides say they'll need to reach a compromise.



## Annual average weekly benefit amount for the unemployment insurance program



Source: ETA 5-159, prepared by Economic Information and Analysis

"Ultimately, it will be business and labor working together," Denzler says. "The process works pretty well."

"We can't be cutting benefits in order to bail out this problem," Drea says. "We're not going to balance this problem on the backs of working people."

While both business and labor say the likely outcome is a trade-off in which businesses pay a little more and benefits are reduced, Wentworth says that's not necessarily a good thing. "It's not necessarily logical that the sacrifice be equal," Wentworth says.

For example, if Illinois were to cut benefits to the absolute minimum federal level, that might only save \$1 billion.

To make up the remaining billion dollars, employers might have to pay higher taxes.

One potential solution is to tie the wage base, which is used to calculate how much employers pay, to the rate of inflation. That way, the fund grows in relation to wage growth and is spread among a larger pool of workers. Of the 16 states that use that method, 11 have remained solvent in the face of the lingering economic downturn.

Instead of Illinois' current wage base of \$12,520, Wentworth suggests that a more realistic base would be about half of the state's median wage, which is about \$46,000 annually. But, more than

doubling the wage base will be a tough sell to the business community.

"You don't want to set it too high that it stifles job creation," Vite says.

Wentworth says he hopes business and labor groups — as well as state and federal lawmakers — take their time to study the issue, rather than politicize it. "It's not a simple problem," he says.

Stott says he doesn't see negotiations between business and labor getting serious until the federal government outlines how far it will go in helping out the states.

"A lot depends on what action Congress takes." □

*Kurt Erickson is the Springfield bureau chief for Lee Enterprises.*

# Managing to get by

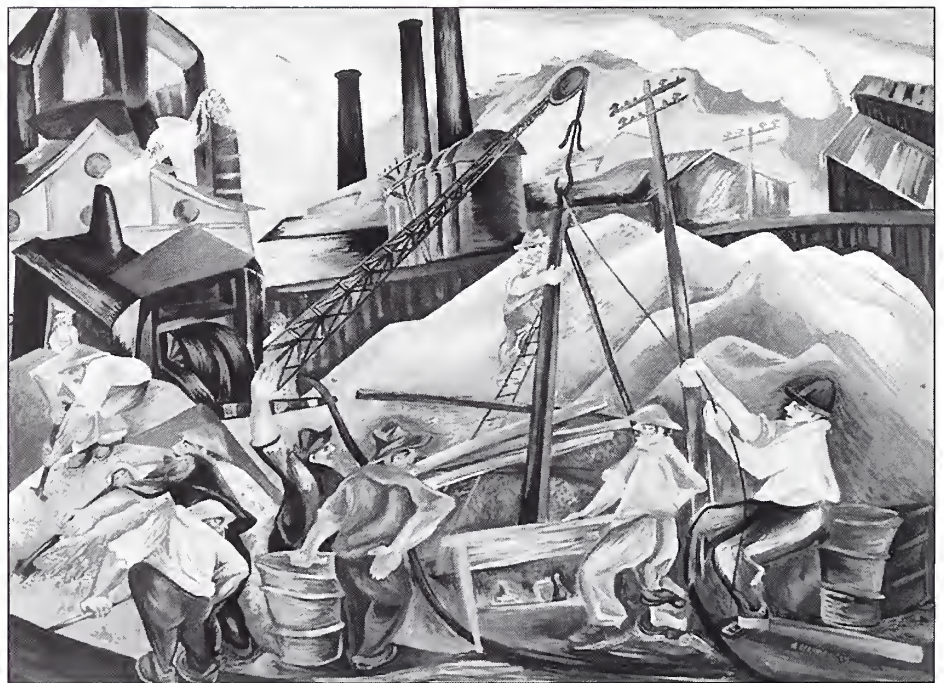
State workers often bear the brunt  
of the public's dissatisfaction with government

by James Krohe Jr.

When I was growing up in Springfield, I was never quite sure what my state worker neighbors did, but I was pretty certain they didn't do it too hard. State of Illinois employees in those days might have been only cogs in a machine, but those cogs were more likely to rust than to break from hard use. They worked fewer days and paid less for insurance, and if their pay was not princely, their pensions were, all things considered.

That the worst that could be said of most state workers was that they were dutiful and competent owed to a century of reform efforts. From its first days as a commonwealth, state workers had been reviled as place-seekers who were underqualified, underworked, under-motivated and more answerable to their patronage sponsors than the public they ostensibly served. That was never true of all state workers, and was completely true about only the worst of them, but merit hiring and other windmill jousting by reformers was driven by a desire to improve the quality of the workforce found wanting in competence or commitment. But standards had risen as the scope of government services expanded, and beginning in the 1950s, virtually the whole of the workforce was made subject (at least pro forma) to civil service hiring standards.

As the workforce has improved, public opinion of it has not. The complaints began in earnest in the 1980s, when governments in general began to be excoriated as problem causers rather than problem solvers by



*Bernece Beckman, South Chicago Series #2*

the U.S. right wing. And we have seen again that taxpayers become sensitive to the cost of government operations when earning the tax dollars needed to pay for them becomes difficult. The public damns lawmakers at all levels for being bad at their jobs; many seem to damn state “bureaucrats” for having a job.

The more we expect of state workers, the more often we are likely to be disappointed in their performance. A gap remains between the ideal and the sufficient. In 2008, it was announced that the

Washington, D.C.-based Pew Center on the States put Illinois near the bottom of its rankings in a report rating state governments by how well they manage their money, people, information and infrastructure. What that means in practical terms was revealed that same year by the auditor general's office, whose annual review of the Department of Healthcare and Family Services found 15 “serious concerns” from untimely health care payments to tardy financial statements to claims paid from the wrong funds.

*Image courtesy of the Illinois State Museum*



The mutterings on the blogosphere are about a privileged class insulated by patronage or union contracts from the economic storms that wrecked the hopes of so many in the private sector. “For two hours, I saw little or no work from anyone,” wrote one reader to the *Champaign News-Gazette* last year after a visit to the Department of Revenue’s offices in Springfield. “What I did see were dozens of state employees roaming the halls and engaging in small talk, like they were touring a museum.”

For the servant to live better than the masters upsets the natural order. Thus, the genuine anger that greeted the news in July that Gov. Pat Quinn gave salary increases averaging 11.4 percent to 35 of his own staffers in the past 15 months, while layoffs in other executive departments left many middle managers doing two jobs for one salary.

Resentment of state workers — and public employees in general — animates the anti-incumbent mood. No politician will win running only against state employees; none — perhaps except in the Springfield area — will lose by criticizing them. Both the major-party candidates in this year’s state comptroller race have urged that salaries of all state employees and elected officials be published online, as a sort of public interest Megan’s Law. The Illinois Policy Institute, a conservative think tank, has sought copies of employee evaluations for every state worker in Illinois via the Freedom of Information Act in an attempt to determine whether the taxpayers are getting value for their money.

We will not here try to answer the complicated question of whether state workers are paid more than their neighbors in the private sector doing the same kind of work. Nor will we explore why so many of the nation’s post-recession private workers find themselves with so little or why disaffected private sector workers who feel exploited have turned their ire not against their bosses but against their neighbors in happier circumstances. These are not Illinois issues but national ones.

**However, the checks** still go out, and the forms get processed. (State “bureaucrats” — a term that takes in only a fraction of state workers — are paragons

of public service, compared with members of the General Assembly.) More thoughtful observers of state operations (including many veteran state workers) have a different view. The scandal, they insist, is not that Illinois has too many people on the payroll but that the ones who are employed are not used well. Not that they are dishonest, but that they are ill-trained, ill-organized and ill-equipped. Not that they don’t know how to do their jobs, but that too often, they are prevented from doing them. While paper-pushing is not one of the species’ more testing challenges, setting up systems to push paper is, and administrative systems at the state level seem designed to frustrate good management.

Budgeting? Governors and legislators allocate money line by line, with little regard for each line’s impact on programs. Salaries? The problem from an administrator’s point of view is not that they are too high but that they are too uniform; standardized pay scales serve fairness at the expense of performance efficiency because they offer no reward for superior performance.

Hiring? Partisan meddling in agency operations is infamous, but trying to end partisan meddling exacts its own costs. David Hamilton, a former professor of public administration at Roosevelt University who is today the director of the MPA program at Texas Tech University, has argued for years that merit-based hiring systems are designed less to improve staff function by putting the best and the brightest into state jobs than to keep patronage-oriented applicants out of them. Worse, such systems tend to be centralized and bureaucratic, and thus impose high costs in flexibility and accountability on departments.

Continuity? Capable and committed veterans once numbered in the thousands in state service and deserve much credit for keeping the rickety apparatus from crashing to the ground. Employees like that ought to be begged to stay, but they are largely missing, having been invited to retire early by governors pressed to downsize. Such voluntary layoffs have the unhappy effect of culling the payrolls of able but frustrated employees as well as dysfunctional ones.

Recruitment and retention? Replacing early leavers with new workers who rank

lower on the salary scale buys lower payroll costs at the expense of expertise — if it can be bought at all. Most of today’s talented college grads regard going to work for the state as only a slightly better career choice than moving back in with mom and dad. Bright kids who want to improve their cash balances opt for the bucks that the corporate world offers, or for the satisfactions offered by the non-profit sector if they want to improve the world. Most state jobs are not seen as a way to realize either ambition.

As for hiring, inexperienced patronage hacks who are redefined as managers as part of a *Rutan* workaround shouldn’t be hired but are, while union-protected hacks who are indifferent or incompetent should be fired but aren’t. That 2008 Pew report cited Illinois’ poor worker training and development as one of the reasons for its poor management ranking. Developing leaders by identifying young staffers of promise is futile if the rungs on the promotion ladder are crowded with political appointees. As for exposing staff to new ideas, the budgets for conference travel and further education are first cut, if they ever existed in first place.

Worker morale? The legislator proposes, but the bureaucrat disposes. Nonetheless, the last interest group to which lawmakers or office seekers consult about the wisdom of a new program or policy — after they’ve polled the voters, the interest groups, the donors, even the media — is the people who must be relied on to make that program or policy actually work. According to public administration scholar Frank Sherwood, a lot of dedicated administrators probably wouldn’t mind being paid so little if they were heeded a little more.

Former Gov. Rod Blagojevich has been damned for many sins, but the damage he did to Illinois’ reputation is nothing compared with the damage he did to its state government’s ability to do its job. Middle managers in the post-Blago era might be better called muddle managers, given the shambles that the governor made of agency operations. Mike Lawrence, the reporter turned top Edgar aide who then ran the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University, recalled in a recent *Chicago Tribune* opinion piece how their ranks were thinned by ham-handed dismissals unrelated to skills or



## State of Illinois employees FY 2011

### AGENCY

Human Services	13,445	State's Attorney Appellate Prosecutor	83
Corrections	11,353	Governor	79
Transportation	5,839	State Board of Elections	71
Secretary of State	4,115	IL Criminal Justice Information Authority	69
State Police	3,013	Inspector General	64
Children & Family Services	3,012	Racing Board	53
Healthcare & Family Services	2,338	IL Community College Board	49
Revenue	1,980	Bureau of the Budget	43
Employment Security	1,959	Legislative Information System	35
IL State Toll Highway Authority	1,715	Board of Higher Education	34
Courts of Illinois	1,577	Court of Claims	31
Natural Resources	1,571	Comprehensive Health Insurance Board	30
Central Management Services	1,491	Legislative Reference Bureau	30
Veterans' Affairs	1,342	Property Tax Appeal Board	29
Juvenile Justice	1,248	Legislative Printing Unit	27
Public Health	1,090	Executive Ethics Commission	25
Agriculture	1,055	Legislative Research Unit	25
Environmental Protection Agency	946	State & Local Labor Relations Board	23
Attorney General	698	Commission on Human Rights	22
Official Court Reporters	615	IL Law Enforcement Training & Standards	20
State Board of Education	585	Illinois Arts Council	18
Finance & Professional Regulation	529	Prisoner Review Board	18
House of Representatives	454	Joint Committee on Administrative Rules	15
Commerce & Economic Opportunity	442	Universities Civil Service Merit Board	14
Military Affairs	382	Economic & Fiscal Commission	13
IL Student Assistance Commission	381	Violence Prevention Authority	12
State Officers/General Assembly Members*	355	IL Educational Labor Relations Board	11
Senate	306	IL State Board of Investments	11
Insurance	278	Judges Retirement System	11
Historic Preservation Agency	273	IL Planning Council on Dev. Disabilities	9
Illinois Commerce Commission	275	Deaf & Hard of Hearing Commission	7
IL Math & Science Academy	271	Civil Service Commission	5
Office of the State Appellate Defender	269	Judicial Inquiry Board	5
Comptroller	249	State Police Merit Board	5
Emergency Management Agency	228	Supreme Court Historic Preservation Commission	5
Gaming Board	204	Procurement Policy Board	4
Treasurer	190	Architect of the Capitol	3
Teachers' Retirement System	178	East St Louis Financial Advisory Authority	3
IL Workers' Compensation Commission	171	Legislative Audit Commission	3
Aging	146	Legislative Ethics Commission	2
Human Rights	139	Illinois Power Agency	-
Office of the State Fire Marshall	137	Medical District Commission	-
Capital Development Board	122	Legislative Inspector General	-
Guardianship & Advocacy Commission	108	Lieutenant Governor	-
Auditor General	101		
State Employees Retirement System	91		
Labor	87		
		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>68,369</b>



Source: Illinois Comptroller's Office

\*Includes constitutional officers,  
members of the legislature and agency directors



experience. Pay was frozen while out-of-pocket benefits costs increased, while judges and university administrators outside his reach raked it in. Worse, their unionized underlings in their own departments were getting raises, with predictably dire effects on morale.

As bison huddle together to protect themselves against a blizzard, so its managers are joining other workers in employee unions. The new recruits included supervisors and policy advisers traditionally regarded as management. About 95 percent of employees in the 16 largest agencies under the governor's control, reported Lawrence, are now organized.

With administrators protected by their political patrons at the top, and the rank-and-file protected by their unions at the bottom, a narrowing band of employees is left that is vulnerable to exploitation.

Quinn asked nonunion state workers to take 24 furlough days in a year, which is the equivalent of a 9 percent cut in salary; AFSCME workers agreed to a temporary 2 percent cut — of a 14 percent pay raise agreed by his predecessor in 2008.

Public administration wonks have joined ideologues of the right in complaining that AFSCME is the political party that really controls Illinois government. That exaggerates. However, deals such as the one Quinn recently struck with AFSCME, under which the state agreed to not cut jobs or close institutions until June 2012 in return for at least \$50 million worth of furlough days, reduced overtime and other cost-cutting measures, do infringe on traditional managerial prerogatives.

As a means of improving workforce performance, being able to hire on merit probably means less than being able to fire with cause. This state is less and less able to do that. The Howe Developmental Center in Tinley Park was closed in June after investigations by the U.S. Department of Justice and the state inspector general's office confirmed patterns of questionable employee neglect and improper care that may have contributed to more than 30 deaths and which led the feds in 2007 to rescind Howe's Medicaid certification. The then-director (the fifth of five in as many years) declared problems there to be "pervasive" and "unfixable." Not a single Howe manager or employee was fired, however, and nearly

400 former Howe workers are employed at other state facilities for the developmentally disabled (thanks to a union agreement that guaranteed them roughly the same job at the same salary in another facility) or were transferred to work in other state departments, according to the *Chicago Tribune*.

Lawrence raised another issue. In smaller offices, every employee might belong to the same union. "Can the governor or an agency chief realistically expect one union member to discipline another?" Lawrence asked. "What happens when a middle manager is asked to push changes in assignments and schedules — or to oversee further downsizing — against the rigorous resistance of fellow union members?"

*Critics complain that* the state government, indeed governments at all levels, are not subject to the competitive pressures that compel private corporations to run tighter ships. The nearly universally recommended cure for the state of Illinois' workforce ills is a strong dose of private sector-style competition to discipline the bureaucracy by introducing choice in the provision of public services, or making at-will the basis of the public employee contracts. Such novelties have actually been adopted in small ways in those few states in which the word "manage" does not refer to containing the political impact of a scandal.

One is entitled to be skeptical of plans that would turn good government agencies into bad businesses. A government agency can indeed be run in a businesslike manner, but that does not make it a business. (Indeed, one could argue that many a state agency is run too much like a business: General Motors circa 1980s.)

Public ire will fade because it always does. In the meantime, decent and capable people will show up every workday to try to run a system they didn't design and cannot control while saddled with indifferent or incompetent underlings, directed by political appointees with short tenures and shorter attention spans, often doing two jobs because of staff cuts while being criticized by the public they serve for being paid too much for one. That is the real problem with the Illinois state worker. □

*James Krohe Jr. is a frequent essay writer for Illinois Issues.*

TRI STATES  
**PUBLIC RADIO**  
WIUM 91.3 & WIUW 89.5

*In-depth national and  
international news,  
quality entertainment,  
and  
local information...*

**Tri States  
Public Radio**  
*...on the air  
and on the web*

**WIUM 91.3 FM  
WIUW 89.5 FM  
tristatesradio.com**



News Department  
800.895.2912  
rg-egger@wiu.edu

# Peer Reviewed.

These lawyers were recommended by their peers to be among the TOP LAWYERS in Illinois.

## Governmental, Municipal, Lobbying & Administrative Law

Thomas A. Green  
Mark J. McClenathan  
Charles F. Helsten  
Thomas J. Lester  
D. Renee Schroeder  
Stephen E. Balogh  
Clayton L. Lindsey  
Frederick R. Ball  
James L. Fletcher  
Michael J. Kasper  
Timothy J. O'Brien  
Roger H. Bickel  
Joseph P. Roddy  
Ann M. Zwick  
Steven M. Puiszis  
Robert T. Shannon  
James C. Vlahakis  
Matthew P. Walsh, II  
Clare Connor Ranalli  
Timothy J. Riordan  
Matthew J. Piers  
James G. Sotos  
John B. Simon  
Patrick M. Kinnally  
Terrence M. Barnicle  
Thomas P. Bayer  
Everette M. Hill, Jr.  
Jeremy D. Margolis  
Michael V. Favia  
Stephen Scott Morrill  
Karl R. Ottosen  
Kathleen R. Pasulka-Brown  
Preston L. Pugh  
Stephen H. Pugh  
Sanford M. Stein  
E. Glenn Rippie  
Matthew C. Crowl  
James S. Montana, Jr.  
Richard G. Flood  
David W. McArdle  
H. Karl Huntoon  
Gregory S. Bell  
James R. Grebe  
Timothy L. Bertschy  
Kenneth N. Beth  
Kurt P. Froehlich  
Darrell A. Woolums  
Claire A. Manning  
John E. Stevens  
Herman G. Bodewes  
Michael J. Mannion  
R. Mark Mifflin  
D. Bradley Blodgett  
Edward R. Gower  
Andrew M. Ramage  
J. William Roberts  
Charles R. Schmadeke  
William R. Enlow  
James M. Morpew  
Zack Stamp  
Douglas R. Heise  
John L. Gilbert  
Brian E. Konzen  
R. Eric Robertson  
Michael R. Twomey  
John S. Rendleman, III  
John C. Ryan

Barrick Switzer Long Balsley & Van Evera  
Heyl Royster Voelker & Allen PC  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
WilliamsMcCarthy LLP  
WilliamsMcCarthy LLP  
Duane Morris LLP  
Fletcher O'Brien Kasper & Nottage PC  
Fletcher O'Brien Kasper & Nottage PC  
Fletcher O'Brien Kasper & Nottage PC  
Freeborn & Peters LLP  
Freeborn & Peters LLP  
Freeborn & Peters LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Holland & Knight  
Howard & Howard Attorneys PLLC  
Hughes Socol Piers Resnick & Dym Ltd  
James G Sotos & Associates Ltd  
Jenner & Block LLP  
Kinnally Flaherty Krentz & Loran PC  
Klein Thorpe and Jenkins Ltd  
Klein Thorpe and Jenkins Ltd  
Klein Thorpe and Jenkins Ltd  
Loeb & Loeb LLP  
Michael V Favia Law Office  
Morrill and Associates PC  
Ottosen Britz Kelly Cooper & Gilbert Ltd  
Pugh Jones Johnson & Quandt PC  
Pugh Jones Johnson & Quandt PC  
Pugh Jones Johnson & Quandt PC  
Quarles & Brady LLP  
Rooney Rippie & Ratnaswamy LLP  
Schiff Hardin LLP  
Vedder Price PC  
Zukowski Rogers Flood & McArdle  
Zukowski Rogers Flood & McArdle  
Katz Huntoon & Fieweger PC  
Hasselberg Rock Bell & Kuppler LLP  
Hasselberg Williams Grebe Snodgrass & Birdsall  
Heyl Royster Voelker & Allen PC  
Evans Froehlich Beth & Chamley  
Evans Froehlich Beth & Chamley  
Samuels Miller Schroeder Jackson & Sly LLP  
Brown Hay & Stephens LLP  
Freeborn & Peters LLP  
Giffin Winning Cohen & Bodewes PC  
Giffin Winning Cohen & Bodewes PC  
Giffin Winning Cohen & Bodewes PC  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Sorling Northrup Hanna Cullen & Cochran Ltd  
Sorling Northrup Hanna Cullen & Cochran Ltd  
Zack Stamp Ltd  
Heyl Royster Voelker & Allen PC  
Hinshaw & Culbertson LLP  
Lueders Robertson & Konzen LLC  
Lueders Robertson & Konzen LLC  
Barrett Twomey Broom Hughes & Hoke LLP  
Feirich/Mager/Green/Ryan  
Feirich/Mager/Green/Ryan

Rockford 815.962.6611  
Rockford 815.963.4454  
Rockford 815.490.4906  
Rockford 815.490.4900  
Rockford 815.490.4921  
Rockford 815.987.8946  
Oregon 815.732.2101  
Chicago 312.499.6720  
Chicago 312.704.3297  
Chicago 312.704.3292  
Chicago 312.704.3297  
Chicago 312.360.6377  
Chicago 312.360.6385  
Chicago 312.360.6254  
Chicago 312.704.3243  
Chicago 312.704.3901  
Chicago 312.704.3715  
Chicago 312.704.3000  
Chicago 312.263.3600  
Chicago 312.456.3408  
Chicago 312.604.2606  
Itasca 630.735.3300  
Chicago 312.923.2921  
Aurora 630.907.0909  
Chicago 312.984.6400  
Chicago 312.984.6400  
Chicago 312.984.6400  
Chicago 312.464.3167  
Chicago 773.631.4580  
Chicago/Springfield 312.606.8770  
Naperville 630.682.0085  
Chicago 312.768.7800  
Chicago 312.768.7800  
Chicago 312.768.7800  
Chicago 312.715.5162  
Chicago 312.447.2800  
Chicago 312.258.5609  
Chicago 312.609.7820  
Crystal Lake 815.459.2050  
Crystal Lake 815.459.2050  
Moline 309.797.3000  
Peoria 309.688.9400  
Peoria 309.637.1400  
Peoria 309.676.0400  
Champaign 217.359.6494  
Champaign 217.359.6494  
Decatur 217.429.4325  
Springfield 217.544.8491  
Springfield 217.535.1060  
Springfield 217.525.1571  
Springfield 217.725.2081  
Springfield 217.525.1571  
Springfield 217.528.7375  
Springfield 217.528.7375  
Springfield 217.528.7375  
Springfield 217.528.7375  
Springfield 217.528.7375  
Springfield 217.544.1144  
Springfield 217.544.1144  
Springfield 217.525.0700  
Edwardsville 618.656.4646  
Edwardsville 618.655.0342  
Granite City 618.876.8500  
Granite City 618.876.8500  
Carbondale 618.457.0437  
Carbondale 618.529.3000  
Carbondale 618.529.3000

A lawyer CANNOT buy the distinction of being a Leading Lawyer. This distinction was earned by being among those lawyers who were most often recommended by their peers in statewide surveys. Respondents COULD NOT recommend themselves or lawyers at their law firm. For a complete list of all Leading Lawyers and to view profiles of the lawyers listed on this page, go to [www.LeadngLawyers.com](http://www.LeadngLawyers.com).

**Leading Lawyers Network<sup>SM</sup>**  
*Find a better lawyer, faster.*

312.644.7000  
**LeadingLawyers.com**

A Division of Law Bulletin Publishing Company—est. 1854



## PEOPLE

### Supreme court gets new chief justice

Thomas Kilbride was chosen by the the Illinois Supreme Court to head the court after former Chief Justice **Thomas Fitzgerald** announced in September that he planned to retire.

Fitzgerald made the decision to step down after being diagnosed with Parkinson's disease. He was elected to the court a decade ago and would have been up in November for a retention vote for another 10-year term. "I didn't want to do anything to hurt the court or the people it serves," he said in a written statement. "Right now, I'm fully capable of discharging its duties. I don't know how much longer that will be true."

Fitzgerald, whose father was a circuit court judge, began his legal career as a prosecutor in Cook County. He was elected circuit court judge in Cook County in 1976 and later served as a trial judge in criminal court.

As chief justice, Fitzgerald oversaw the creation of a Special Committee on Illinois Evidence, which was tasked with compiling Illinois evidentiary law into a single, convenient, definitive source for judges. Their work came to fruition in September, when the Supreme Court approved the Illinois Rules of Evidence.

Kilbride was the court's unanimous choice to take over as chief justice. "I am exceedingly honored and humbled by my colleagues' selection of me as chief justice," he said in a news release. "I regret deeply that my friend Chief Justice Fitzgerald will not be able to complete his term as chief, but I have learned much from his example of dignity, grace and leadership. I will miss his continued guidance and friendship."

Kilbride, who was also elected in 2000, is facing opposition to his bid to be retained on the court in the November election — in part because of his vote to strike down caps on the amount of money a victim of medical malpractice can be awarded. He needs the support of 60 percent of those who vote in the Third Judicial District this November to gain another 10-year term on the court. If he is retained, he will remain chief justice until 2013. (For more on Kilbride's retention bid, see *Illinois Issues*, October, page 29.)

*Photograph courtesy of the Illinois Supreme Court*



**Chief Justice Thomas Kilbride**

*Photograph courtesy of the Illinois Supreme Court*



**Former Chief Justice Thomas Fitzgerald**

Kilbride is the only member of the court who had not previously served as a judge. Before coming to the bench, he worked in private practice and as a legal services attorney for the poor. As a Supreme Court justice, he has worked to encourage lawyers to provide free legal help for those who cannot afford it.

"I really like Justice Tom Kilbride," Gov. Pat Quinn said at a Chicago news conference. "He's a man of justice. He understands the importance of fairness. ... He actually worked for Cesar Chavez, the great labor leader, the great leader of many, many people. He's a man with a servant's heart, Thomas Kilbride. And I know he's going to do a great job as chief justice."

The court tapped Fitzgerald's choice, Appellate Judge Mary Jane Theis, to take his place on the bench. Theis was elected to the First District Appellate Court in 1994. She also served as a public defender and a circuit judge. She will serve a two-year term on the Supreme Court.

*Jamey Dunn*

### Court clerk follows dad's pattern

Carolyn Taft Grosboll will be following in her father's footsteps when she takes over as clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court in January.

Grosboll's father, **Justin Taft Jr.**,

was the last person elected to fill the position. He won the seat in 1969 and served until 1975. The job was changed to an appointed position in the 1970 rewrite of the Illinois Constitution.

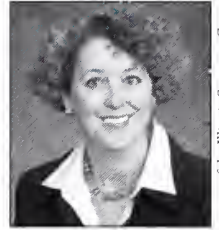
The clerk handles case files, maintains records and processes licenses for attorneys and law firms.

"My father's experience as clerk of the Supreme Court no doubt influenced me to go to law school. I never dreamed I would have that position, but it's a great opportunity," Taft Grosboll says.

Taft died in June, but the new clerk says her father knew she had applied for the job. "He was just very excited and thrilled for me and hoped for the best."

Taft Grosboll served as assistant counsel to former Gov. Jim Edgar when he was secretary of state. She also worked as a staff attorney at the Legislative Reference Bureau, which drafts bills for the General Assembly. She has been a partner with the Springfield firm Giffin, Winning, Cohen & Bodewes since 2004.

*Jamey Dunn*



**Carolyn Taft Grosboll**

*Photograph courtesy of the Illinois Supreme Court*

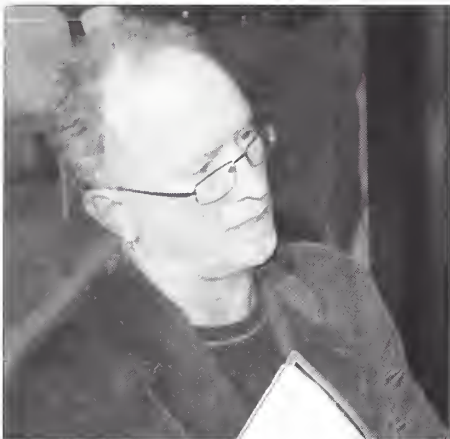
## QUOTABLE

“I am encouraged by the overall numbers and the significant drop in violent crime. But I'm certainly not satisfied. Residents should not fear violence in their communities.”

*Chicago Police Supt. Jody Weiss to the Chicago Sun-Times after a report that overall crime was down 4.5 percent in September from the same time period last year. Violent crime decreased 11 percent.*

## PEOPLE

### Ayers denied emeritus status



*William Ayers*

**William Ayers**, a 1960s-era radical and retired professor of education at the University of Illinois Chicago, was denied emeritus status by the U of I Board of Trustees.

Ayers, co-founder of the Weather

Underground, has taught at UIC since 1987 and was named a distinguished professor of education in 1999.

Board Chairman **Christopher Kennedy** stated: "I am guided by my conscience and one which has been formed by a series of experiences, many of which have been shared with the people of our country and mark each of us in a profound way. My own history is not a secret. My life experiences inform my decision making as a trustee of the university.

"In this case of emeritus status, I hope that I will act in a predictable fashion and that the people of Illinois and the faculty and staff of this great institution will understand my motives and my reasoning. I intend to vote against conferring the honorific title of our university to a man whose body of work includes a book dedicated in part to the man who murdered my

father, Robert F. Kennedy."

Kennedy was speaking about a 1974 book co-authored by Ayers, *Prairie Fire*, which was dedicated to about 200 people, including Robert Kennedy's assassin, Sirhan Sirhan.

Ayers could not be reached for comment, but several faculty members protested the board's decision.

The Weather Underground conducted a series of bombings of public buildings in the 1960s and '70s to protest the Vietnam War. Ayers also drew controversy during Barack Obama's presidential campaign because both men had links to a 1995 school reform effort. That sparked Obama opponents to say he was tied to a terrorist.

The title of emeritus is largely honorific and includes no perks, according to university spokesman Thomas Hardy.

*Maureen Foertsch McKinney*

### Genius award goes to Illinoisan

**Shannon Lee Dawdy**, an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, was named a MacArthur Fellow for her work uncovering the early history of New Orleans, La. The \$500,000 grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation comes with no strings attached. Dawdy says her plans for the grant are still forming, but she wants to write about her findings and start another archaeological project in the city's Holt Cemetery, established in 1897 as a potter's field.

She and her students and other associates have unearthed more than 50,000 artifacts from St. Antoine's Garden behind the St. Louis Cathedral in the French Quarter of the city.

"One of the most spectacular finds was a detailed silver crucifix. It was in an area where we found the structure of a hut dating back to the time of Pere Antoine. It may have belonged to him."

Pere Antoine was a priest in the colonial era. He died in 1829. Fire destroyed the first two cathedrals; the current one was completed in the 1850s.

She says the dig also has revealed a large number of Native American cultural remnants, such as pottery, hide scrapers and decorated tobacco pipes. She says the evidence points to the area being used as a meeting place for diplomacy and trade.

Though her work as a historical anthropologist and archaeologist concentrates on the Atlantic world after 1450, particularly the societies in Cuba and Louisiana, her New Orleans digs have an immediacy and urgency because of the damage done by Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Ironically, the loss of old live oak and magnolia trees in the cathedral garden led to an opportunity to look beneath the surface to reveal bits and pieces of earlier inhabitants of the "high ground" of the Quarter.

*Photographs courtesy of the MacArthur Foundation*



*Shannon Lee Dawdy*



*David Cromer*

Also receiving the commonly called "genius" grant was former Chicagoan **David Cromer**. Now living in New York City, he is a theater director and actor who, according to the MacArthur Foundation, is "reinvigorating classic American plays and illuminating their relationship to the present." A graduate of Columbia University in Chicago, Cromer directed and acted in Thornton Wilder's *Our Town* at Chicago's Steppenwolf Theater. In describing the talents that earned him the recognition, the foundation said: "The minimalist aesthetic of the production and his portrayal of the Stage Manager avoid the sentimentality characteristic of other versions of *Our Town* and, at the same time, increase the emotional force of the play's exhortation to live in the present moment."

*Beverly Scobell*

**For updated news see the *Illinois Issues* Web site at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>**



## UIS gets acting chancellor

Harry Berman is the interim chancellor for the University of Illinois Springfield as of November 1.

Berman, who had been provost, is expected to serve until a permanent replacement is selected for Richard Ringeisen, who retired as chancellor on October 31 after serving more than nine years. Berman had been provost and vice chancellor for academic affairs since 2005.

"Harry has the respect of the entire campus and is the logical choice to head the Springfield campus while the search for a permanent chancellor proceeds," U of I President Michael Hogan said in a prepared statement.

Berman, whose academic specialty is gerontology, has a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of Chicago and a doctorate in psychology from Washington University. In 1977, he joined the faculty of then-Sangamon State University, which became UIS in 1995. Previously, he had been an assistant professor at the Fayette campus of Pennsylvania



*Interim Chancellor Harry Berman*

State University. With the new position, his salary, which was \$176,054, has risen to \$211,254.

"I am pleased that Provost Berman is willing to take on the responsibilities of interim chancellor," Hogan said. "His knowledge of the campus and his experience in both the academic and financial administration of the campus are extremely valuable to the university. Harry brings strength of leadership as well as continuity at a challenging time for the UIS campus and the university."



*Former Chancellor Richard Ringeisen*

During Ringeisen's tenure, UIS moved from a two-year upper-division institution to a four-year university and enrollment has increased by 16 percent. Also, several facilities have been established: the Recreation and Athletic Center, Founders Hall, University Hall, the Quad and its colonnade, Emiquon Field Station and the new Peoria Center downtown location.

Ringeisen previously served at East Carolina University as vice chancellor of academic affairs and chief academic officer.

## 2010 BILL MILLER PUBLIC AFFAIRS REPORTING HALL OF FAME INDUCTEES ANNOUNCED

The Bill Miller Public Affairs Reporting Hall of Fame will honor three graduates from the University of Illinois Springfield's (UIS) Public Affairs Reporting program who have distinguished themselves in the field of journalism. Susan Cornwell, John O'Connor and Barbara Hipsman will be inducted into the Hall of Fame in Springfield on Monday, November 15, 2010. The event will be held in Theater 3, Hoogland Center for the Arts, 420 S. 6th St., beginning with a 5:30 p.m. reception, followed by the program and induction at 6:30 p.m. For more information, contact *Illinois Issues*, (217) 206-6094, or check our website, <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>.

The Hall of Fame was named in honor of Bill Miller, an award-winning journalist who served as the program's director for 19 years. After a semester of classroom study, students work six months in the Capitol covering state politics while being supervised by professional journalists. The first class graduated in 1973. *Illinois Issues*, the state's leading public affairs magazine, and WUIS-91.9 – the capital city's NPR station, established the biannual event in 2006. Both are units of the Center for State Policy and Leadership at UIS.



**Susan Cornwell** has been a working journalist for more than three decades and in several countries around the world. She has interviewed pivotal world leaders and has reported on U.S. policies and politics from Washington, where she has followed events on Capitol Hill, at the White House and the State Department. In 1996, Cornwell won the Merriman Smith award for presidential reporting on a deadline, which is given to one journalist a year by the White House Correspondents' Association. She is currently a Capitol Hill correspondent for Reuters, focusing mainly on foreign policy. Cornwell received her professional start in Illinois, working briefly as a copy clerk for the *Alton Telegraph*, followed by her first full-time reporting job at the Springfield *State Journal-Register*.



**John O'Connor** has been an Illinois state Capitol reporter for The Associated Press since 1998, focusing on a variety of enterprising and investigative pieces. He is the 2010 winner of the \$10,000 Oliver S. Gramling Journalism Achievement Award from the AP for a year-long body of work that included reports on a secret early prison-release program that nearly cost Gov. Pat Quinn the primary election and forced changes in state laws requiring minimum sentences. Other articles included a report on the gaping racial disparity in school discipline that inspired a state legislative task force, and an article on salary increases given to Quinn's top staff—some topping 20 percent—during a budget crisis, that had prompted the governor to announce extra furlough days for all state workers. He was given the specialist byline "AP Political Writer" in 2005 for consistently breaking stories.



Since 1987, **Barbara Hipsman** has been an associate professor of journalism and mass communication at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, where she received the Distinguished Teaching Award in 1996. Previously, she was an assistant professor at Bradley University in Peoria for three years and worked as statehouse bureau chief for *The News Democrat* (Belleville) for six years. Hipsman is active with Capitolbeat, the national association of Capitol reporters and editors, as a judge, facilitator and presenter at national meetings. She remains current on journalistic trends, using sabbaticals spent at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Arizona Daily Republic* and *Columbus Dispatch* to study the effects of convergence, varying ownership, and unionization. This spring Hipsman will study cell phone usage in news gathering.



## Write us

Your comments are welcome.  
Please keep them brief (250 words).  
We reserve the right to excerpt them.

Letters to the Editor  
*Illinois Issues*  
University of Illinois Springfield  
One University Plaza, MS HRB 10  
Springfield, IL 62703-5407  
e-mail address on Internet:  
heupel.dana@uis.edu

And visit *Illinois Issues* online by going to:  
<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

*Celebrating 25 years*

**Helping Communities  
Help Themselves**



**Illinois Coalition for  
Community Services**

Al Riddley, Executive Director  
510 Apple Orchard Rd., Ste. 100,  
Springfield, IL 62703  
Tel: 217.522.2378  
Toll-Free 800.728.1523  
Fax: 217.522.2698

[www.organizing-communities.org](http://www.organizing-communities.org)

— ADVERTISING OPPORTUNITIES —

ISSUE	AD PLACEMENT DEADLINE
February 2011 . . . . .	December 23, 2010
March 2011 . . . . .	January 28, 2011
April 2011 . . . . .	February 25, 2011

*Discounts for multiple insertions!*

**Gain visibility among  
our readership**

**70%**

of our readers say they  
personally influence  
policymaking or lawmaking  
in Illinois.\*

Contact Linda Anderson

***Illinois Issues***

(217) 206-6094 • [lande3@uis.edu](mailto:lande3@uis.edu)

\*Illinois Issues 2006 Readership Survey



**CONTACT: Jeff Holman**  
**Illinois Press Advertising Service**  
217-241-1700 • [jholman@illinoispress.org](mailto:jholman@illinoispress.org)

# AIM:

**Access • Image • Marketing**

*Trusted media experts for more than 140 years!*

## • Full Service Ad Placement

*AIM at all newspapers & other media. Any state. Any market.*

## • Online Advertising

*AIM for newspaper Web sites to fit your target audience.*

## • Press Release Service

*AIM your message to every media outlet in the state.*

## • Logo & Campaign Design

*AIM for the image you want with the right logo or design concept.*

## • Media Monitoring

*AIM can track your message everywhere it goes.*



Charles N. Wheeler III



## What about the deficit?

by Charles N. Wheeler III

**Y**ears ago, a group of legislative backbenchers dubbed themselves “The Mushroom Caucus.” The moniker was apt, they explained, because leadership “keeps us in the dark and feeds us horse [manure].”

If Illinois voters are feeling a strong sense of kinship with those old-time lawmakers just a few days after the November election, they certainly can’t be blamed.

Since the February primary, they’ve watched the two major party candidates for governor studiously avoid any substantive discussion of the state’s unprecedented fiscal crisis. Instead, Gov. Pat Quinn, the Democratic incumbent, and state Sen. Bill Brady, the Republican challenger, have dished out vague generalities like cutting waste and growing the economy — details at some later date — all wrapped up in fuzzy math and self-contradicting statements. Neither has addressed the issue forthrightly nor provided the specifics of his plan to rescue the Land of Lincoln from functional bankruptcy.

As this column asked eight years ago, “Are these guys as fiscally ignorant as they sound, or are they merely dissembling for the sake of political expediency?” Back then, the mathematically challenged candidates, Democrat Rod Blagojevich and Republican Jim Ryan, were sparring over a then-record budget

---

***In fact, warned Comptroller Dan Hynes in his most recent quarterly report, the current operating deficit could reach \$15 billion as the new governor and incoming General Assembly try next spring to craft a budget for FY 2012.***

deficit of some \$1.2 billion for fiscal year 2002.

While a huge sum, \$1.2 billion is less than one-10th of the red ink now facing the state. In fact, warned Comptroller Dan Hynes in his most recent quarterly report, the current operating deficit could reach \$15 billion as the new governor and incoming General Assembly try next spring to craft a budget for FY 2012.

So one would like to think the answer to the still-relevant question is even clearer today than it was in 2002 — both candidates hope voters will buy the pabulum they’re peddling, rather than demand to know the painful facts of fiscal life in Illinois. They’ll find out soon enough once the electoral dust settles, the thinking seems to be, so in the meantime,

let’s not say anything that could give the other guy another attack ad opening.

To his credit, Quinn has been more forthcoming than his GOP opponent. In his March budget address, he called for a 1 percentage point increase in income tax rates, good for some \$3 billion, which the legislature quickly rejected. The governor then cut more than \$1 billion from the budget lawmakers ultimately sent him, mostly from education and human services. But the current spending plan still anticipates a record-setting deficit at year’s end next June 30, in part because more than a quarter of FY 2011 revenues will go to pay the \$6.4 billion in bills left over from the prior budget year.

Pressed to detail how he’d fill the rest of the budget hole, Quinn punts. Strategic borrowing, additional — but unspecified — budget cuts, economic growth through “investing in people,” maybe even more federal aid. The vision is murky at best.

Still, it’s a lot sharper — even more consistent — than Brady’s. The Bloomington senator is opposed to higher taxes or fees; indeed, he wants to reduce them to attract business to Illinois. In the meantime, though, his proposed cuts would add \$1 billion or so to the existing deficit. Additionally, along with most of his fellow GOP lawmakers, Brady last spring blasted Quinn’s plan to borrow

some \$4 billion to make this year's pension payment, and the initiative stalled. His campaign website asserts his "action plan" calls for "balancing the budget without relying on more crippling borrowing." Yet in recent weeks, the senator has toyed with selling as much as \$50 billion in bonds to reduce the state's pension debt.

Brady's main solution to the state's fiscal woes, though, is to cut spending by at least 10 percent. At various times, he's for cutting everything across the board, 10 cents on the dollar; at other times, he's for selective cuts equating 10 percent of outlays. Either way, however, the numbers don't work. The state's current general funds budget is \$26 billion. Employing sixth-grade arithmetic reveals that cutting 10 percent would equal \$2.6 billion in savings, considerably less than the deficit. Even if the senator uses total appropriations, a \$57 billion figure that includes federal aid, bond-financed construction and outlays from other restricted funds, the 10 percent yield is well below half the deficit.

### ***Folks who've relied only on the candidates' talking points likely are in for a rude awakening.***

Moreover, Brady won't identify specific programs he'd slice, but his website promises he'll leave essential services in while "cutting out the waste and political paybacks." Asked for more detail, the senator says he won't know until he's in office and can order a special audit to ferret out waste. That seems a stretch from a guy who's been in the legislature for 17 years, including serving the last four on the Commission on Government Forecasting and Accountability, whose specialty is financial expertise.

Perhaps most implausible is Brady's campaign pledge to both cut taxes and balance the budget in his first year in office. While campaign-stop audiences love the rhetoric, it's far removed from

the fiscal reality: Whoever wins the governorship will have to raise some taxes, make further spending cuts and borrow more money to help shore up state finances for the coming fiscal year.

Odds are either Brady or Quinn will be that winner. Neither has done much to prepare the state's citizenry for what lies ahead, so folks who've relied only on the candidates' talking points likely are in for a rude awakening.

To quote again this author's November 2002 column: "What's important, though, is that voters know before the election the choices each candidate would make, which taxes he'd raise, which programs he'd cut, or what combination of the two he'd pursue to restore fiscal order. Absent such candor, the question persists: Are they liars or are they fools? Neither alternative seems likely to inspire confidence in the next governor."

Amen. □

*Charles N. Wheeler III is director of the Public Affairs Reporting program at the University of Illinois Springfield.*

ILLINOIS ⚡

ENERGY ⬢

ASSOCIATION

\* \* \* \*

Representing  
Investor-Owned Electricity and  
Natural Gas Companies  
on  
Public Policy Issues

\* \* \* \*

1 W. Old State Capitol Plaza  
Myers Building, Suite 509  
Springfield, Illinois 62701  
217/523-7348  
[www.ilenergyassn.org](http://www.ilenergyassn.org)

**Watch select CAN TV programs online.**



**cantv.blip.tv**

**Sometimes TV isn't the problem. It's the solution.**





# A Holiday Gift Idea

## Subscription to *Illinois Issues*



Give the gift  
to last all year

One-year subscription  
10 issues  
of *Illinois Issues*  
magazine, plus  
2011 Roster of State  
Government Officials  
for only **\$39.95**

☐ Please send subscription to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

**From:**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Send a gift card with the first issue

\_\_\_\_\_ Payment of \$39.95 (payable to *University of Illinois*)

To place order on credit card call *Illinois Issues* at (217) 206-6084.

Mail payment to: *Illinois Issues*, HRB 10, One University Plaza,  
Springfield, Illinois, 62703.





NO POSTAGE  
NECESSARY  
IF MAILED  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES

**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 1901 SPRINGFIELD, IL

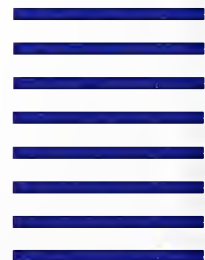
POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

***Illinois Issues***

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT SPRINGFIELD

PO Box 19243

Springfield, IL 62794-9980





# Reach thousands of people in the Illinois political arena **How?**

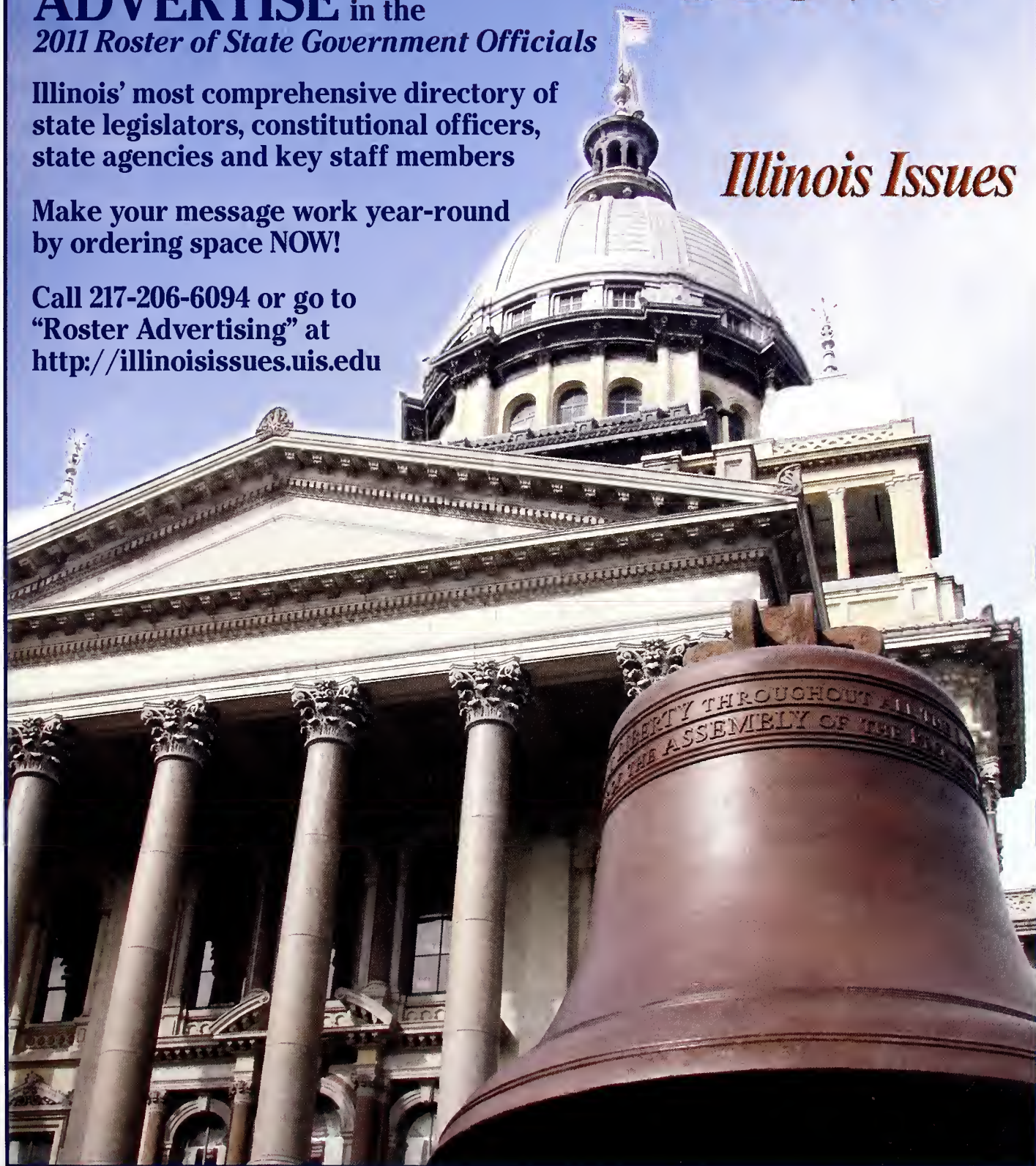
**ADVERTISE** in the  
*2011 Roster of State Government Officials*

Illinois' most comprehensive directory of  
state legislators, constitutional officers,  
state agencies and key staff members

Make your message work year-round  
by ordering space NOW!

Call 217-206-6094 or go to  
"Roster Advertising" at  
<http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>

*Illinois Issues*





35TH ANNIVERSARY

# Illinois Issues

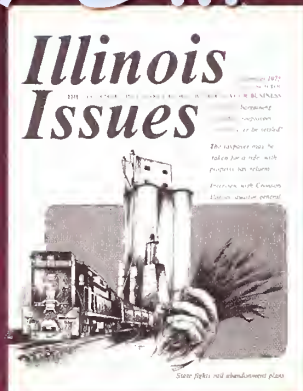
**Illinois' public policy magazine  
for 35 years**

from **1975**...

**"Collective bargaining  
for public employees –  
will it ever be settled?"**

**"The taxpayer may be  
'taken for a ride' with  
property tax reform"**

**"Interview with  
Cronson: Illinois'  
auditor general"**



**"State fights rail  
abandonment plans"**



**"Who cares?"**

**"Federal intervention"**

**"Partnerships"**

**"Interest comes due"**

**"Managing  
to get by"**

to **2010**...

**Throughout the years, Illinois Issues has remained  
an award-winning magazine with a mission –  
to provide fresh, provocative analysis of public policy in Illinois,  
specifically focusing on state government and politics.**

**Engage in public policy discourse  
in Illinois by subscribing**

*Association, Corporation and Government subscription partnerships available  
as well as individual subscriptions.*

*Contact Illinois Issues at 217-206-6094 or <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>*



**Did you know? Illinois Issues is NOW  
available at these bookstores statewide!  
Barnes & Noble • Borders • Follett • Anderson's Bookshops**